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THE STATUS AND POSITION OF HINDU WIDOWS IN KARNATAKA

ANIL MUDBIDRI and MISS. G. D. PATIL

Widowhood is a very difficult and pitiable period in a woman's life. In addition to bereavement, it also means readjusting to a new social situation. From a sociological point of view, widowhood may be perceived as a change in the status of a woman brought about by the death of the spouse, the consequent dissolution of marriage, and which necessitates the establishment of new ties within the family, with the kin group and the community.¹

The death of the husband is such a traumatic event for the wife that, according to Thomas Eliot, a widow may often pass through seven emotional stages before she is ready to face reality and be resigned to her position.² Widowhood brings about severe social, economic and emotional deprivation. This often has a damaging effect on the 'self' concept of a woman and she may experience an extreme form of rejection by society.³ Thus when the position of widows is deplorable, the condition of Hindu widows who are governed by age old oppressive and abominable customs is indeed lamentable. The position of the Hindu widow was miserable and her lot unenviable. Enforced widowhood often meant that there was no hope of escape from this situation. The condition of a child widow therefore was truly lamentable when she had to pass through life being considered a burden by the family, consigned to a life of drudgery and prevented from taking part in the cultural and social activities. Often considered inauspicious and a symbol of ill women, a widow could not participate in festivities and religious ceremonies. She was required to lead a chaste and austere life and eschew good clothes, ornaments, good food and prohibited from wearing *Kumkum* (the symbol of marriage). She had to wear a coarse sari of red, almond or white colour and devote her life to piety. Most widows were ill treated, persecuted and considered no more than chattel by relatives. The

1. F. Ivan Nye and F. M. Berado : *The family, Its Structure and Integration*, Mc Millan, New York, 1973, p. 591.
2. Thomas D. Eliot : "The Bereaved Family". *The Annals*, 160, March 1932, pp. 184-190.
3. E. B. Hurlock : *Personality Development*, Tata Mc Graw, New Delhi, 1976, p. 211.

practice of tonsure was perhaps the most inhuman and reprehensible practice that a Brahmin widow was until recently subjected to. Though the condition of widows has considerably improved in recent times, there is still scope for improvement.

The condition of widows was not so miserable during Manu's time. Manu did not recommend that a widow had to die on the funeral pyre of her husband or undergo tonsure. She was only required to lead a chaste life.⁴ There was also a form of selective widow- remarriage or *Niyoga*. Gauthama and Vasista recommended that a deceased husband's brother could marry the widow.⁵ It was during the post Vedic period that with the deterioration of the status of women that several restrictive practices came to be introduced into Hindu society much to the detriment of women and particularly for widows.⁶

The system of tonsure of widows is believed to have been followed by the Brahmins due to the influence of Buddhism where the Buddhist nuns underwent tonsure in imitation of the monks.⁷ However Kane seems to suggest that a widow was tonsured just as the sons of a deceased men underwent tonsure as a matter of purification and as a symbol of bereavement.⁸

With the passage of time came the evil customs of *Sati* or the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of the husband. It is believed that the custom came into practice due to frequent wars and foreign invasions which left behind widows who preferred to commit Sati to dishonour. However, though it started as a voluntary gesture, as time went on many cases were reported where widows were forcibly cast into the flames of the pyre much against their will.⁹ In fact the practice of *Sati* or *Jauhar* became quite common and popular particularly in North India.¹⁰

4. R. M. Das : *Women in Manu & His Seven Commentators*, Kanchana Publications, Varanasi, Arrah, 1962, pp. 221-28.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

6. A. S. Altekar : *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Motilal Banarasidas, Banaras, 1956, Ch. IV.

7. I. B. Horner : *Women under Primitive Buddhism*, Motilal Banarasidas, Varanasi, (Indian Reprint) New Delhi, 1975, p. 73.

8. P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmashastra*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930, p. 587.

9. Abbe J. A. Dubois : *Hindu Manners, Customs & Ceremonies*, Translated by H. Beauchamp, O. U. P. III Ed., 1906, 357.

10. Ila Mukherjee : *Social Status of North Indian Women*, Shivalal Aggarwal & Co., Agra, 1972. pp. 114-135.

It was with the establishment of the British empire in India that Indians who were exposed to western education began to take an interest in reformist movements. Many British Officers supported these movements while several others initiated action to put an end to the inhuman practices prevalent in the Hindu religion. The Sati system was prohibited due to the interest taken by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Lord Bentinck in 1829. The nineteenth century was an age of Renaissance in India. It was the age which produced justice Ranade, Pandita Ramabai, Vidyasagar and several others who dedicated their life towards the upliftment of widows. This reformist movement was not without its repercussions throughout India.¹¹

It was specifically the educated class which took an interest in ameliorative measures in order to rid the traditional Hindu society of many of its repugnant social customs. The new elite campaigned against rituals, superstition and ignorance. They never had any doubt of the soundness of the Hindu religion. Their aim was to transform some of the traditional values of the Indian society so as to bring it closer to modern thinking. One may perceive a distinct movement for the reformation of Hindu society in North Karnataka during the nineteenth century.*

The question of widow remarriage and prohibition of infant marriage was a vital question which engaged the attention of both British officials and educated Indians during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Many eminent Indians were consulted for their opinion. In 1837 the Principal Sadar Ameen (Native Judge) of Dharwad, Parsi Venkatrao was required to give his opinion on the important issue. Parsi Venkatrao opined as early as in 1837 that the Government ought to take positive steps in making it possible for widows, especially virgin widows, to remarry.¹² This Native Judge had himself been a witness to the miserable condition and the plight of widows. He recounted various examples to show the miserable life led by widows who being considered inauspicious were relegated to a cloistered life. Some were even blamed for their husband's death. Also the Judge pointed out some cases where young widows were led astray and were forced into immoral life by unscrupulous men and the harsh consequences meted out by society to them. In his

11. Giri Raj Gupta : *Marriage Religion & Society in India*, Vikas, Delhi, 1974. Cha. II.

* The region North Karnataka comprises of the erstwhile Southern Maratha Country and now identified as 'Bombay Karnataka'.

12. Letter No. 281 Rao Bahadur Parsi Venkatrao, Principal Sadar Ameen to the Secretary of Indian Law Commission, No. 688, *Daftar M. Inamdar MSS.*

Report written in response to the advise sought by the British Indian Law Commission Venkatrao wrote thus: "...widows are treated with contempt and scorn. The apprehension of such a state may be one reason, why so many females, have offered to immolate themselves with their departed husbands..... than to suffer immediate miseries with relations and friends."¹³

Parsi Venkatrao further observed that widow remarriage was a justifiable act and a logical measure to be taken after the prohibition of the Sati system. He abhorred the system of infant marriages which contributed to a large number of child widows. In this context the Judge observed: "I may venture to say that while female infants..... are permitted to marry... the chances are that scarcely one half or one third of the males survive to the period of the consummation of such marriages and consequently the number of females destined to perpetual widowhood and the immoral and shameful results are immensely increased..."¹⁴ In this Report the Judge further observed that though widow remarriages was prevalent among the lower castes, the practice was generally not favoured.

In his letter containing his remarks Venkatrao again wrote: "In reply to your command directing me to offer my opinion fully and candidly, whether there could be any objection to a Law which should authorize the remarriage of Hindu widows... I must candidly state that my humble individual opinion is, that it would be *highly desirable*... Tho' a great proportion of the higher castes of Hindoos may now consider such a measure an innovation... they may consequently oppose and be very unwilling to express their approbation... yet I think that several sensible individuals approve of the measure."¹⁵

These remarks from Parsi Venkatrao in 1837 were indeed praiseworthy. In fact his superiors commended his progressive views as laudable. Mr. Shaw, the Judge at Dharwad wrote to Venkatrao upon receiving his Report thus: "I assure you, your opinion coincides, exactly with mine. I wish all the Hindoos could see the matter in the same light, but I doubt it much..."¹⁶ While forwarding Venkatrao's views, Mr. Le Geyt wrote to his superiors at Bombay: "I have forwarded the original sent by this talented and respectable functionary as a Specimen of the opinion of an enlightened and well educated Brahmin and who has the

13. Letter No. 521 of 1837, *Daftar M. Inamdar MSS.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. Venkatrao, op. cit.

16. *Daftar D. Packet 688*, J. Shaw, Judge at Dharwad to Parsi Venkatrao, Inamdar MSS.

real advantage of his countrymen much at heart and the good sense to perceive and advocate the true path to it.”¹⁷

The Secretary of the Indian Law Commission at Calcutta wrote back to Venkatrao asking for certain clarifications on the prevalence of widow remarriages among the low castes and whether illegitimate children of widows could inherit property among Hindus, or in the event of a remarriage of a widow, whether the son could also obtain rights of inheritance.¹⁸

Venkatrao clarified the matter that remarriage was not allowed among all *Shudra* widows, but only among a few such as the Cubeer or Guneemuckall, Bhois, Daser, Satan etc. In some of the upper castes, Venkatrao wrote that men who were very old, but were wealthy and influential, married widows from a caste inferior to their own. In such cases of remarriage the son of a widow had the right to inherit the property with the concurrence of the sons from the first wife, but the property of the mother went to their respective sons. A widow could inherit the husband's property in case of absence of male heirs but she forfeited all rights to the property of her first husband's estate.

Venkatrao's opinions were far in advance of his countrymen, and this is fully brought out in the letter by Rev. Beynon, the well known educationist and missionary from Belgaum who wrote in 1846: “Have you seen that the subject of the remarriage of the widows has been proposed by a member of the Dharma Sabha in Bengal? Some of the papers speak highly of the advancement made by the native gentleman who made the proposition. You are in advance of him. If I recollect, years ago I believe, you wrote in favour of the subject...”¹⁹

Thus even before the subject became popular and was avidly discussed in Bengal, Venkatrao had already pondered deeply over this topic and had given his scholarly and learned remarks on it.

The topic of widow remarriage was kept alive and was still being discussed during the 1880s. Rao Bahadur Trimalrao Inamdar, Parsi Venkatrao's son, who was also a *Sadar Ameen*, took a keen interest on this topic. The issue had once again come to the forefront due to the efforts of B. M. Malabari, a social reformer of Bombay. The paper on the sensitive subject of infant marriage and widow remarriage written by

17. *Daftar D. P. W. Le Geyt*, Acting Judge, Zillah Dharwad, to J. W. Woodcock, Asst. Registrar to the Court of the Suddur Dewanee Adaulut. 20 Dec. 1837.

18. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 1969 of 1838, Judicial Dept., 5 March 1838 & 4 Sept. 1838.

19. *Daftar D. Packet No. 3*, Rev. W. Beynon to Parsi Venkatrao, 9 June 1846.

Malabari was sent to Tirmalrao Inamdar at Dharwad for his opinion, upon the direction of the Governor-in-Council.²⁰

Tirmalrao Inamdar observed in his Report that infant marriages had no religious sanctions. Similarly he decried enforced widowhood. He also expressed grave doubts of whether it was in the interests of native society for a man to marry twice when the first wife was living and had no children. Tirmalrao summed the prevailing sentiments thus: "They are fully aware of the cruelty and hardships of enforced widowhood, and privately wish that the young widows might be remarried, and yet they have not the courage of openly declaring their private wishes."²¹

Knowing that a Native Judge was sympathetic to social reform, many gentlemen from different parts of the country began to correspond with him. One supporter from Navalgund, a small town not far from Dharwad wrote: "Looking at the unreparable distressed condition of our widows and the atrocity perpetrated... I am inclined to offer up myself as one of the advocates of widow remarriage..."²² Another gentleman from Bombay wrote to Tirmalrao urging him to express his liberal views in news papers or write and circulate pamphlets so that more number of people could read it.²³ Tirmalrao himself closely followed the movement advocating religious reforms in the country. He was in contact with such reformers at Madras as Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, Chanchal Rao and several others.

Credit should be given to Tirmalrao for mobilising views in support of the legislation which the Bombay Government sought to introduce in order to bring about the betterment of Hindu society. No doubt the lead was taken by B. M. Malabari for urging the Government to enact the widow Remarriage Act and the Act enhancing the age of marriage to prohibit infant marriages, but local stalwarts such as Trimalrao also played a part in mobilising public opinion and helped to create a favourable atmosphere for the enactment of such legislation.

Many other residents of Dharwad during the later decades of the nineteenth century also took a keen interest in the subject of widow remarriage. An Assistant Master in the local Kanerese School wrote an article upholding the idea of widow remarriage in 1884.²⁴ However, the

20. *Daftar D.* General Dept.. Letter No. 4164 of 1884 from Acting Secretary to Govt. of Bombay to Rao Bahadur Trimalrao Venkatesh, 13 Nov. 1884.

21. *Daftar D.* Report submitted by Tirmalrao Venkatesh, 30 Dec. 1884,

22. *Daftar M.* Packet 688, Pandurang Narayan to Tirmalrao, 3 Feb. 1885.

23. *Ibid.* Narayan Keshav Vaidya to Tirmalrao, 5 Feb. 1885.

24. Baswantappa Hebli, *Shalapatrike*, May-June 1884, p. 110.

book titled *Vidhawa Vapana Anachar* (in Marathi) or *Vidhawa Mundana Anachar* (in Kannada) received wide publicity. This book published by Venkat Rango Katti in 1889, brought to light that there was no religious sanction of the tonsure of widows. Katti systematically argued that the disfigurement of widows by shaving their head was a custom that had crept into Hindu society under the influence of Buddhism. Katti strengthened his views by citing evidence from several Hindu texts to prove that disfigurement of widows was only a later development. In fact Katti offered a prize of Rs. 500/- to any one who could prove that tonsure of widows was justified by Hindu *Shastras*. In this context he said: "An appeal is made to our present reformers and men of patriotic feelings to gird up their loins to put down this abominable and unauthorised custom of recent origin as early as possible..."²⁵

Thus did the various enlightened men in the nineteenth century North Karnataka try to take up the issue of widow remarriage, tonsure of widows, enforced widowhood and infant marriage and tried to create a favourable opinion to initiate social reform.

Being a very sensitive field of study, there are very few studies conducted on the condition of widows in recent times. Though the condition of widows is not so harsh as it used to be, widowhood is still considered a curse. Though the inhuman custom of tonsure of widows is now almost non-existent, there are several issues related to widows such as the question of widow remarriage, the social and economic status of widows and the restrictions still imposed on widows in certain fields of cultural activities need to be examined.

In a study of Lingayat widows an effort was made to study their socio-economic activities with a view to understand their problems of adjustment within the family and the status accorded to them outside their families.²⁶ The average age of widows in this study was 55 years. Most of the widows had undergone bitter experiences after becoming widows. The death of the husband had brought about major changes in their economic condition. Some of them had been forced to take up some sort of an occupation to eke a livelihood, such as selling grains on a small scale in the local market, rearing cattle, preparing condiments for others etc. Some of the widows were the wives of agriculturists and helped their husbands in the fields but had taken up manual labour on becoming

25. Venkat Rango Katti : *Vidhawa Vapana Anachar*, Gnayanavardhak Press, Dharwad, 1889, p. 2.

26. S. Jambagi and Sulochana Jambagi, "Lingayat Widows in Mysore State", *Social Welfare*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, May 1970, p. 2.

widows. However, the upper caste widows helped in the supervising household chores and did not venture out of the house. Their social activities amounted to helping people by attending on sick people, working as midwife, settling disputes, helping friends and neighbours in small ways such as in purchasing things. It was only the rich widows who were held in respect and were consulted on vital matters. Widowhood had increased religious activities. However they were not allowed to participate in certain ceremonies and such other auspicious occasions. A few respondents in this study had become widows at very young age and had married again, as a form of selective widow remarriage called *Udiki* is practiced among certain section of Lingayats. One widow in this study even had a child from her first husband when she remarried. However the *Udiki* marriage is not allowed among Jangama and Banajigas Lingayats.

In a recently conducted study of widows in Dharwad by Katti and Nagesh, widows generally did not prefer remarriage because they felt that society had not yet accorded sanction to widow remarriage. Many widows in this study led a life of poverty due to deplorable economic conditions after the death of the husband. Most of these were not aware of the help they could get from Government or other Welfare Organisations. While only 10 percent of the widows looked after their children, almost 25 percent of the widows reported that their minor children were brought up by their relatives, while 16 percent said that the children were brought up by their husband's relatives.²⁷

In this study, the authors recommend that it was feasible to maintain a Register of widows by Government or by the Municipality etc., so that these oppressed class of society may be easily located for the purpose of giving them aid and make them the beneficiaries of welfare measures. They also recommend that though poverty is a widespread phenomena, the condition of widows is even more deplorable, therefore widows under indigent conditions should be given pension by the Government. Also young educated widows could be given employment opportunities, vocational training etc., so that they could take up some form of remunerative job to maintain themselves and their children in dignity. For this the Government could reserve some jobs for widows such as in nursing of teaching professions.²⁸

27. A. P. Katti & H. V. Nagesh : *A Study of Widows.*, (Unpublished). J. S. S. Institute, Vidyagiri, Dharwad.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

In another study conducted by Katti and Nagesh in Hubli City and some neighbouring rural areas it was found that there was some difference between widows in city areas and those in rural areas.²⁹ While 68 percent of rural respondents reported that they had developed a sense of insecurity after their husband's death, nearly 94 percent of the urban respondents reported that insecurity had increased after they lost their husband. On the contrary while only 54 percent of the rural widows were self supporting, the number was nearly 78 percent in the case of urban widows. Thus the urban widows were more self reliant and independent and supported their children. As can be expected the educational attainment of the urban respondents was slightly better than the rural respondents. However, the highest level of education was S.S.L.C. This study points out that nearly 58 percent of the rural respondents said that widow remarriage was permissible in their caste while the same was reported by 29 percent of the urban respondents. A little more than 97 percent of the rural respondents and 92 percent in the urban areas were not willing to marry again. However this negative attitude towards remarriage, as the study points out, could be because widows were afraid that remarriage did not have either social or religious sanction. Hence it was felt that there is a need to create a more favourable atmosphere with help of welfare agencies, voluntary organisations, and most important, by religious organisations. This was the only way in which the fear of remarriage could be dispelled and widows who had an inclination towards remarriage could be encouraged without any prejudice.³⁰

Thus widowed face several disabilities. As Gandhiji said : "Voluntary widowhood is a priceless boon to Hinduism, but enforced widowhood is a curse."³¹ Many widows still suffer social and psychological disabilities and Margaret Cormack says : "A widow has no place in society. In the olden days she was a physical Suti; now she is psychological Suti".³² However, widow remarriage seems to be permitted among certain castes in India. As has been mentioned earlier sections of Lingayats permit a widow to remarry and the practice is known as *Udiki*. Dubey reports of the prevalence of widow remarriage among some of the lower castes in Madhya Pradesh. In this study conducted in some of the villages of

29. A. P. Katti & H. V. Nagesh : *A Socio-Economic Study of Widows : In Hubli City and Neighbouring Villages*, (Unpublished), J. S. S. Institute, Vidyagiri, Dharwad.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-106.

31. M. K. Gandhi, *Women & Social Injustices*, Navajivan Pub. Ahmedabad, 1942, p. 117.

32. Margaret Cormack : *The Hindu Women*, Bureau of Publication, Columbia, New York, 1953, pp. 173-75.

Madhya Pradesh, the prevalence of widows remarriage was quite high due to early age of marriage of girls, but many of the widows were encouraged to remarry, particularly if a widow had only daughters. The urge to have a son was so strong that most widows remarried only to beget a son.⁸³ A similar conclusion is drawn by Bose who found that widow remarriage is not only prevalent in rural areas but it is even encouraged, especially among the lower castes, but prohibited among Rajput, Brahmin Purohit and Mahajan castes of North India.⁸⁴ In South India the Thanda Pulayan castes in Tamil Nadu permit widow remarriage but a widow cannot marry her husband's brother. This is also the case among the Halepaik caste. Ehrenfels however suggests that widow remarriage is more prevalent among such of these castes which are matrilineal or matrilocal.⁸⁵

Thus it cannot be denied that widows are often treated as second class citizens in a country besides being considered as second class members in their family. It was estimated that there are nearly 2.34 crore widows in India. The peculiar problems faced by widows need to be studied and there is an urgent need to undertake ameliorative measures for the alleviation of their miserable condition.⁸⁶ The condition of the aged widows in fact requires attention. Besides weakness of body and mind the aged face multiple problems, not to mention emotional & financial insecurity.⁸⁷ In fact Bock and Webber in a study have revealed that the condition of the aged widows, especially in the West, is so deplorable that many contemplate suicide and lead a precarious existence.⁸⁸ Berado has depicted widowhood among the aged as a critical situation which involves both social and personal disorganisation.⁸⁹ Anderson notes that upon the death of the husband a widow often turns to the adult children when feeling depressed or is in need of financial security, but often

33. Bhagwant Rao Dubey "Widow Remarriage in Madhya Pradesh", *Man in India*, No. 1. Vol. 45, 1965, p. 50.
34. A. B. Bose, "Some Characteristics of Widows in Rural Society", *Man in India*, Vol. 46. Jan-March 1966, p. 230.
35. Baron O. R. Ehrenfels: *Mother Right in India*, O U.P., Hyderabad, 1941, p. 55.
36. C. Harichandra : "Socio-Economic Conditions of Widows", *Yojana* Vol. XXVI, No. 1-15 June, 1982.
37. P. Srinivasan, "Problems of the Aged in India", *Yojana*, Vol. XXVI, No. 10, June 1982.
38. E. B. Bock & I. L. Webber, "Suicide Among the Elderly": Isolating Widowhood and Mitigating Alternatives", *Journal of Marriage and Family*, February 1972, p. 24.
39. F. M. Berado, "Widowhood Status in the United States", *The Family Co-ordinator*, July, 1968. p. 191.

confide to their own sisters or such other related kin when they need advise on solving their personal problems. Therefore kinship ties, if they are strong, mitigate loneliness among aged widows.⁴⁰ A similar conclusion is drawn by Arling who feels that though aged widows try to maintain some sort of autonomy, they need to be respected in terms of their basic rights and freedom.⁴¹

Therefore one cannot go by the Gandhian solution when solving the problems of widows. Gandhiji favoured a repressive asceticism and saw 'voluntary widowhood' as a great social asset. He often said : "A real Hindu widow is a treasure. She is the gift of Hindusim to humanity", because Gandhiji felt that a widow had understood the true meaning of suffering. A chaste and virtuous widow would always accept suffering as sacred.⁴² It cannot be denied that this is a simplistic and too idealistic approach towards the solving of the problems of widows. A widow has to start a life altogether different, in food habits, dress and in maintaining relationships. They have to start life with some sort of stigma, apart from a loss in status, financial and psychological problems and fight against traditional attitudes. Therefore as Bhattacharya observes there is a basic need to mould man's attitude for the progress of women, but particularly with regard to solving the problems of widows.⁴³

40. Trudy B. Anderson : "Widowhood as a Life Transition : Its Impact on Kinship Ties", *Journal of Marriage & Family*, Feb. 1984, p. 105.

41. Greg Arling : "The Elderly Widow and Her Family, Neighbours & Friends", *Journal of Marriage & Family*, Nov., 1976, p. 757.

42. Madhu Kishwar : "Gandhi On Women", *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. XX, No. 40, October, 1985, p. 1692.

43. Amitabha Bhattacharya, "Moulding Man's Attitude for Woman's Progress", *Social Welfare*, Vol. XXII, No. II, Feb., 1977, p. 7.

SOCIETY AND MARKET ECONOMY IN DHARWAR UNDER BRITISH RULE (1818-1900)

ANIL G. MUDBIDRI

The arrival of the British in Dharwar in 1818 heralded a series of changes in the Dharwar Collectorate. British rule played a vital and significant role in the shaping of the economy and the growth of the market in Dharwar, which was not only the administrative headquarters, but was also one of the main markets in the region.

Dharwar seemed to have a strong rural base with agriculture as its mainstay. Most of the decisions affecting agriculture were taken by administrators based in the town. The destiny of the town and the sphere of agriculture in the hinterland were inter-linked. The conditions which prevailed in the Collectorate before the British arrived were by no means encouraging. Due to frequent wars and the oppressive revenue collection made under the rule of the last Peshwa, conditions of uncertainty prevailed over the entire region. Several villages had either been destroyed or deserted. Peasants were unable to cultivate the land. Trade and commerce were severely handicapped in the region. However, the British introduced a sound system of administration, revenue collection and land assessment. Less than a decade after the British took charge of the territory, the tract began to show a great improvement.

It was the British who first made efforts to improve the infrastructure needed to strengthen the economy, namely, the laying of good roads, improvement in communication, regularising the currency etc. These developments boosted trade. As a consequence of contact with other areas the relative isolation which the town had experienced till then was lessened.

Agriculture was further stimulated due to the popularising of modern methods of farming which brought about prosperity in the region and stimulated trading activity in the town. With the increase in the trading activity, the class of merchants became the fulcrum of the new trading ventures and assumed positions of importance in the life and activities of the town.

The British as an alien power had no direct link with the peasants, and the relationship between the two was mediated through a class of

landed gentry. The British could always depend on the landed gentry who were loyal to them and upon whom they could depend upon as a medium to transmit the innovations that they desired to introduce in the region of Dharwar.¹

One of the first measures undertaken by the British was the assessment and survey of land. The raitwari system was introduced. Many of the ryots who had fled to the Mysore territory as a consequence of Mahratta oppression were induced to come back. The commencement of the survey of land was done in accordance with the authorisation of the Court of Directors in 1822.² Thus, it was reported, "Dharwar was surveyed about two and a half years ago for experiments' sake", by Thackeray, "and Goolgunjikop* was twice measured... the result is perhaps too favourable to serve as a test of the general accuracy of a revenue survey."³

Communication was considerably improved with the establishment of a network of roads connecting Dharwar with the distant towns and the coastline. Prior to this, the only line of communication were the roads constructed for the movement of the armies. On these bad roads, only pack bullocks could be used. But with the improvement of roads, traders began to use carts. Trading activities in Dharwar not only improved but also new openings were found for export through the ports of Karwar and Kumta on the western coast. Many of these roads were constructed on the appeals made by Cpt. Wingate.⁴ By the middle of the nineteenth century, Dharwar was well connected by ten lanes of traffic.⁵

The improvements in communication together with a stable administration and peace set the pace for considerable improvements in trade and commerce. Under these circumstances the British began gradually to introduce new modes of farming, improved seeds and new farm imple-

1, Memorandum of Governor-in-Council, 2841 : "In order to raise a class of Native landed gentry well-affected to the British Government and whose interests are entirely dependent upon the continuation of the British power, and also, it is hoped in course of a few generations, will obtain a firm hold on the affections of people.... it is proposed that government, in lieu of pensions, should be moved to allow grants of land."

2. A Rogers, *The Land Revenue of Bombay Presidency*, W.H. Allen & Co., London, 1892, Vol. II, p. 357.

* A suburb of Dharwar.

3. R. D. Choksey, *Economic History of Bombay Deccan and Karnatak (1818-1868)*, Oriental Watchman, Poona, 1945, p. 266.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

5. *Gazetteer (1884)*, p. 340.

ments. However, the impact made on the local economy by the experiments initiated by the British in introducing cotton and silk in Dharwar was fairly strong.

Mr. Randall, an authority on cotton opined that the Southern Mahratta Country was ideal for the growth of cotton. He felt that the authorities must encourage the natives to take to the growth of cotton by some form of inducement, for, he opined, "to suppose that the natives of India, of themselves, will undertake any new scheme is contrary to long and wide experience."⁶ Thus, to persuade the ryots to grow good quality cotton, the Government, in 1819, offered a reward of 50 pagodas or a gold chain. Thackeray, the Collector of Dharwar, invited tenders to encourage the merchants to trade with Government in cotton. The quantity was too much and the traders were not in a position to supply.⁷

The Government, however, noted the potential in the Dharwar territory for the growth of cotton. The Court of Directors in 1829 gave orders for growing cotton and Dr. Lush began experimenting with cotton seeds in Dharwar in 1830. Dr. Lush's experiment came to an end in 1836 and the work was later continued by Mr. Shearer, an American planter who tried out a hardy American strain quite successfully. The Collector, Mr. A. N. Shaw, took keen interest in these experiments. Under these circumstances, enough cotton was harvested in the vicinity of Dharwar and exported to China. The Dharwar cotton received much critical acclaim from the Cantonese merchants.⁸

In 1840, Cpt. Bayles of the Madras army, who was sent to America, returned with ten planters skilled in the growth and preparation of cotton. These American planters were sent to different areas of the three Presidencies to test the suitability of the soil.⁹ Three of these planters were stationed in Bombay to look after the experiments in Khandesh and Dharwar. Cpt. Bayles also brought new seeds, agricultural implements, cotton gins and presses. One of these American planters, Mr. Mercer, was sent to Dharwar in January 1843.¹⁰ Mr. Mercer, after his initial survey found the Dharwar soil to be suitable for the growth of the American variety of cotton and favoured its introduction.¹¹

6. Quoted in R. D. Choksey, *Economic Life in Bombay Karnatak 1818-1839*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, p. 103.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Gazetteer (1884)*, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-88.

9. John Caper, *The Three Presidencies of India*, Ingram, Coole & Co., London 1853, p. 342.

10. Letter of 21st Jan. 1843, No. 508, Daftar H. *Inamdar MSS.*

11. *Ibid.*, 14th February, 1843 of Collector.

An experimental farm of 25 to 50 acres was reserved in Dharwad Taluka and it was opined that "for foreign cottons a different site should be chosen, a locality where the soil is clearly alluvial deposit of a light quality and where the benefit of the monsoons is experienced."¹²

As regards the suitability of the Dharwar soil, the Collector wrote "cotton should be grown only in black soil is erroneous. The best soil for its cultivation is a practically damp red soil."¹³ It was estimated that after all the disadvantages, expenses etc., a clear on the profit of Rs. 56 per acre could be had.¹⁴ The Government was very keen on the success of the Dharwar farm experiment and it advised the Collector thus : "You must assist and give him (Mr. Mercer) your advise on this subject and allow him access to the cotton correspondence. All the servants under you should receive strict instructions to advance the interest of the Experiment."¹⁵ Mr. Baber, the Collector was advised to grant land upto 200 acres if it was found feasible to grow cotton on a larger scale. For this purpose, 48 bags of American cotton seeds were sent to Dharwar and given to Mr. Mercer's charge.¹⁶ By September 1843 almost five gin houses were established for the cleaning of cotton.¹⁷ By the following year the Collector was prepared to pay Rs. 300 for the purchase of New Orleans seed and distribute it to the ryots in the Dharwar taluka.¹⁸ The Collector opined, "the New Orleans crops have exceeded my sanguine expectation... the cleaned cotton is selling higher in the Bazaar than expected. Mr. Mercer has started the saw gins at Koosgal & Dharwar..."¹⁹ The Collector asked for an Engineer to help in setting up the gins. The whole establishment of Mr. Mercer for the cotton experiment cost of Rs. 122.²⁰ The success of the experiment promoted the Government in sending six more saw gins to Dharwar.²¹ These were sold to merchants in Dharwar. The Collector asked for permission to constitute a Committee consisting of the Asst. Collector, an American gentleman and a few natives "...to distribute four rewards to the people

12. No. 508, Daftar H, *Inamdar MSS*, Letter from Dr. Burns to Collector, 22nd February 1843.

13. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 558 of 1st December, 1843.

14. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 200 of 22nd March, 1843.

15. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 985 of 30th March, 1843.

16. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 390 of 4th May, 1843.

17. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 942 of 20th September, 1843.

18. No. 508, Daftar H. *Inamdar MSS.*, Letter of 8th March, 1844, Collector to Mr. Mercer.

19. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 234 of 8th March, 1844, Collector to Government.

20. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 440, 17th April, 1884, Collector to Government.

21. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 155, 1st May, 1844, Govt. to Collector.

who may grow 25 acres of best American cotton," and the reward was to consist of Rs. 100, Rs. 70 and two of Rs. 50 each. This was much better than the indigenous variety grown on a small scale by a few farmers.²² The success of the experiment made the authorities to start two more farms, one at Gadag and another at Saundatti which would in turn become centres for the distribution of seeds.²³

Cotton was thus popularised and came to be cultivated in the taluka of Dharwar and all over the Southern Mahratta country. The Government authorised the Collector to distribute a few saw gins free of charge to the farmers and cotton merchants who showed an interest in it.²⁴ The Government also made it clear that a Kanarese and Marathi translation of Act III of 1829 (prohibiting the mixing of inferior cotton and punishment for it) was to be widely distributed in the Collectorate. During the season commencing in 1845, 1000 acres were sown with American cotton at Rs. 2 per acre, the rent of the land and the payment for the labour for picking cotton was paid by the Government. With cotton becoming popular, the experimental farms under the care of Mr. Mercer were abolished.²⁵ The natives, it was felt, had understood the rudiments of cotton growing and operating the gins. The Dharwar New Orleans cotton gained a good reputation in England. The acreage under cultivation of cotton steadily grew and brought about prosperity to the people.²⁶ The cultivators were also intelligent and it was reported: "The Dharwar husbandmen on the whole are intelligent, enterprising hard-working and thrifty. They know the comparative productiveness of the different varieties of soils... They appreciate the value of manure and they have a fair knowledge of rotation of crops. It was to their enterprise and intelligence that the rapid growth of the American cotton was to a great extent due."²⁷ It was also noted that the Dharwar merchant often took his produce to distant Karwar and Kumta and that "he either brings back goods for the sake of hire, or himself invests in such coast produce as finds a ready inland sale."²⁸ This was the reason why the Dharwar farmer was found to be more prosperous than those in the Deccan.

22. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 594 of 3rd June, 1845, Collector to Agri. & Horticulture Society, Bombay.

23. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 669 of 1st June 1845, Govt. to Collector.

24. No. 508, Daftar H. Inamdar MSS, Letter No. 621, 11th April, 1845, Government to Acting Collector.

25. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 3527, 25th July, 1845, Government to Acting Collector.

26. R. D. Choksey, *Economic Life in Bombay Karnatak (1818-1839)*, p. 108.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, different strains of cotton such as Mexican, Nanking or Khaki coloured cotton were also introduced. It was discovered that seeds acclimatised to Dharwar climate yielded better results in soils elsewhere in the Presidency than the direct sowing of imported seed.²⁹ Dharwar, therefore, became a place for the distribution of cotton seeds, especially, to Broach and Ahmedabad.³⁰

Just as the British were responsible in introducing exotic strains of cotton, silk was introduced in Dharwar in 1823. Mr. Baber, the Collector of Dharwar introduced sericulture in Dharwar by importing silk worms from Mysore. An experimental farm was started in the Dharwar jail & after the proliferation of silk worms, these were distributed to a few Muslim families in Dharwar. Mr. Baber also collected and got together mulberry bushes for feeding the worms.³¹ The attempt at silk production was so successful that a few packages of silk were despatched to England where they received favourable comment. In 1842 nearly 400 pounds of silk were produced. It is estimated that there were 200 mulberry trees and 25,000 bushes in the areas near Dharwar. In the jail garden itself 10,820 bushes were cultivated. The people were successful in obtaining 272 pounds and the prisoners produced 144 pounds, in the following few years. After Mr. Baber, the interest in silk cultivation was taken up by Dr. Mackenzie in 1865. The Dharwar silk was for some time exported to Glasgow, London and France. The experts considered Dharwar a more suitable place for the setting up of silk industry than Calcutta. With their success in introducing silk, the authorities introduced the tasar variety in 1876.³² However, due to a variety of circumstances, particularly due to the fact that the authorities were more pre-occupied with cotton cultivation, the silk industry failed to pick-up. Also Dharwar lacked enough water to water the bushes.

Mr. Baber, who introduced the silk worm and the mulberry bushes in 1822 also enthusiastically encouraged the native inhabitants to cultivate garden crops. He advised a prominent citizen, the Sadar Ameen thus : "You should try to introduce them (apple trees)... as the soil there is calculated for all fruit trees."³³ The British also encouraged in 1844 the planting of fruit trees which would not only afford foliage but would also

29. Annual Report 1884, pp. 29-30.

30. Letters of 13th May 1889, and 1890 from Ranchodlal Chotabhai, merchant of Ahmedabad, to Tirmalrao for seeds. No. 470, Daftar E, *Inamdar MSS*.

31. *Gazetteer (1884)*, p. 304.

32. *Gazetteer (1884)*, p. 405.

33. Letter No. 27th February, 1835, Mr. Baber to Parsi Venkat Rao, No. 27, Daftar D, *Inamdar MSS*.

yield good fruits. People on the outskirts of Dharwar were asked to plant fruit trees. To encourage the people, an inducement was offered in the form of the land becoming rent free if at least 1000 fruit trees were planted on it.⁸⁴ The planting of exotic fruit-yielding plants was becoming quite popular. In 1848, a prominent citizen asked the permission of the authorities for the planting of "Europe apples, Aurangabad oranges, black grapes and grafted mangoes," instead of merely planting fruit trees of one kind in his garden.⁸⁵

The trade in the market of Dharwar had picked up considerably under the above circumstances. Weights and measures were regularised and a uniform system was introduced all over the Southern Mahratta Country.⁸⁶ Also a Notification was issued in 1845 that the market and the Government offices were to be closed on Sundays because it was "proper and desirable under a Christian Government, that transaction of ordinary official business should be discontinued as far as possible on Sundays."⁸⁷

The British introduced a regularised common currency system thereby reducing the confusion created by the circulation of several types of native coins, each of which had different value in different territories. This considerably tended to restrict trade.⁸⁸ The standard currency of the British stimulated trade.

The town of Dharwar was the chief market for the produce of nearly 136 villages. For nearly eight years the cultivation remained stationary due to overassessment under Thackeray. However, from 1848 onwards cultivation in Dharwar taluka rose as a consequence of the revision of assessment, under Cpt Wingate.⁸⁹ More and more cultivation of land, both for garden crops and dry crops came to be taken up. Jowri, the staple crop in the taluka which was sold at 51 seers for a rupee in 1842 began to steadily increase to 61½ seers per rupee between 1843 and 1845 in the Dharwar market. Again, it was sold at 72 seers per rupee in 1851. As more lands were cultivated the prices of other essential commodities came down.

In 1852 the Government felt the need to acquaint themselves with the different types of workmanship and artifacts available in the Dharwar

34. Order of the Collector of 1844 No. 554. Daftar E, *Inamdar MSS*.

35. Tirmalrao to Mansfield, Collector, 1848, Daftar T, *Inamdar MSS*.

36. Tirmalrao to Parsi Venkatrao, 13th June, 1845, Daftar F, *Inamdar MSS*.

37. Notification of 13th July, 1845. Territorial Department. No. 563, Daftar O, *Inamdar MSS*.

38. R. D. Choksey, *Period of Transition (1818-1826)*.

39. Rogers. *op. cit.*, pp. 379-80.

Collectorate. The authorities also felt that by exhibiting these artifacts more interest should be created among the people and due encouragement could be given. It was reported : "The goldsmiths, sculptors, tailors and blacksmiths and other artists of this country are able to make very nice and really superior articles, but as there are no ready purchasers they do not prepare them unless they are ordered to prepare any particular article."⁴⁰ The Committee formed to collect the artifacts also noted that trade and commerce had not made much headway because of the superstitious nature of artisans who feared to display their artifacts and were also not very keen on sending their products to distant lands.⁴¹ However, the authorities succeeded in arranging an exhibition in August 1853 in order to create an interest among the people for the purchase of local artifacts.

In a similar manner, the British proposed that the native farmer must be encouraged in making use of modern agricultural implements. The best way in introducing the people to the fruits of better methods of cultivation of land was by holding an industrial exhibition. The Collector suggested that the exhibition could be housed in a modest shed where agricultural implements, machinery etc., could be displayed. The exhibition was proposed to be held on 15th September 1857 in Dharwar for which the Government was to have sanctioned Rs. 2,200. However, this programme was suddenly interrupted by the outbreak of the Mutiny. The plans were again revived two years later. The Collector reported : "I cannot say that any desire exists among the inhabitants of these districts for industrial institutions, but the experiment referred to was recommended in the hope of awakening such a desire." Thus the Collector envisaged that the industrial exhibition would create a desire among the people to use better agricultural implements. The Collector further stated : "The agriculturists and manufacturers of Dharwar, already in good circumstance, are intelligent, and rapidly advancing in prosperity, and, therefore, I anticipate, that, by judicious management their aid may be enlisted in the furtherance of measures which promise to be of much advantage to themselves; but this must be a work of time".⁴² The ultimate aim and purpose of the exhibition was as stated by the Collector : "As soon as so useful and attractive museum has been opened and has interested the public eye,

40. Packet No. 686, Daftar J, *Inamdar MSS*.

41. *Ibid.* The Committee consisted of Dr. Walter, Cpt. North, Dr Forbes, Cpt. Anderson, Rev. Miller, J. D. Inverariety and Tirmalrao Inamdar.

42. Comp. No. 128, Volume 18, 1859, *General Department* Letter of 24th January, 1859 from T. Ogievy, Collector, to Dr. G. Birdwood, Secretary of Museum Committee, Bombay.

it may be hoped that, the inhabitants of the station and the Province of Dharwar would cherish what the Government authorities had commended."⁴³ Thus, the government authorities made efforts to introduce the use of mechanical implements, and kindle an interest for better cultivation of land by the people. Since the Dharwar agriculturists and manufacturers were intelligent and prosperous, the authorities felt that they could be induced to try out the machines and new agricultural implements, so that they would then set an example for the rest of the people in the Collectorate. It was with this very intention that the British started an experimental farm in Dharwar in 1873.

In May 1873, Mr. E. P. Robertson, the Collector, asked the Government for the sanction of land for starting an experimental farm at Navalur and Lakamanhalli in the vicinity of Dharwar. The farm began with just 77 acres and was later extended to 200 acres. The Government sent Mr. Shearer to be the Superintendent of the new farm. The farm was created as a model for the native agriculturists.⁴⁴ This farm yielded a fine crop of sugarcane, a commodity which local agriculturists had repeatedly tried and failed to grow. Successful attempts were made to grow sunflower. The seeds of the flower were pressed and the edible oil was introduced in the Dharwar market. Similarly, safflower was also introduced which was hitherto not known in the area. Many types of new vegetables were cultivated as also new varieties of hardy wheat.⁴⁵ The farm raised successfully many new crops which gave confidence for native agriculturists to introduce them in their own fields. In 1873 the Dharwar farm also introduced the new plough which had several advantages over the native wooden plough. This new plough was accredited to have been invented by the Marquis of Tweedale (a former Governor of Madras) and was sent out by him through the Secretary of State.⁴⁶ By 1879, arable land in Dharwar had all been fairly tilled, instead of being kept under grass. Now only waste lands were set aside for cattle grazing.⁴⁷ Much of the forest had been cleared and tilled. In 1857, within three miles of Dharwar the region was thickly covered with forests and there were instances of forests being the haunts of jackals, elephants and tigers. There were instances of jackals entering the houses and mauling some people in Dharwar. However, now for many miles around Dharwar, there were no forests to afford coverage for wild animals.⁴⁸

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Gazetteer (1884)*, op. cit., p. 305.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

46. *Agricultural Report 1885-86*, p. 84.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Gazetteer (1884)*, p. 38 and Choksey, op. cit., p. 242.

The fruits of good agriculture and the export of cotton brought prosperity to the people. The American Civil War created a good market for Dharwar cotton for which there was a good market in Europe. Thus it is said "...large sums of money poured into the District due to the sale of cotton leading to large scale purchase of land houses at very high prices."⁴⁹

The sale of cotton as the single largest commodity had brought prosperity. Between 1862 and 1865, "... no less than 470 lakhs or a yearly average of Rs. 1,17,50,000 were amassed by the growers and dealers in Dharwar American Cotton."⁵⁰ Thus the consequence has been summed up as follows : "The ryots were gradually freed from debts, and began to accumulate wealth. Traders were benefited by a sustained demand and a plentiful supply, and labourers, by a small rise in wages, and still more by continuous employment," was the assessment of a Collector.⁵¹ Cpt. Wingate noted that Dharwar had a large market and that "owing to the large consumption of produce in the town and camp of Dharwar itself, the exports from the district are few...". Thus Dharwar consumed a good amount of produce leaving very little to be exported. On a weekly market day, the total sale value for one day alone accounted for Rs. 49,650.⁵² The chief articles were jowri, rice, wheat, gram, sweetmeats, sugar, spice and betel nuts, cloth, gold and silver ornaments, brass vessels, etc.

The Dharwar market was at one time known for its breed of ponies running upto fourteen hands high. However, towards the later decades, the breed of horses had considerably deteriorated, as the best horses had been picked up by the British army officers. A large number were taken away for the Persian and Abyssinian campaigns. What was left were bought by the mail cart service thereby leaving only the inferior breed to be sold in the market. However, the market ceased to sell horses towards the end of the century when the mode of travelling changed.⁵³

The price of land and houses began to increase as these were considered a good form of investment. Some invested in gold and silver ornaments. "Dharwar and Hubli held a large trading class, who were on the look out for investments in land."⁵⁴

49. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

50. Agricultural Report 1885-86, p. 59.

51. A. Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

52. First settlement Report of Dharwar Taluka, No. 373, Selections from the S. D. Commissioner's File, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1897, p. 7.

53. Agriculture Report, 1885-86, p. 13.

54. A Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

The wages paid to labourers increased. During the 1840 s, a labourer was paid 2 As. for work of 9 hours; a woman $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna and child earned 1 anna. However, during the late 1870 s a labourer began to earn 4 annas, a woman $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas and a child earned $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas.⁵⁵ This sudden prosperity caused by constant employment due to the building of houses in the town had its own repressions on the skilled labourers. It was reported that “apparently from the cheapness of food and the want of competition in Dharwar, craftsmen seem to have neither energy nor wish to better their condition. A craftsman can make a living by working four or five days a week, and beyond his living he seems not to care.”⁵⁶

In 1876, a Joint Stock Company was formed in Dharwar. Its aim was chiefly to export and import different varieties of cloth. Registered under the name of “Dharwar Company,” it was started by a group of enterprising Dharwar traders with a capital of Rs. 11,875 divided into 475 shares of Rs. 25 each. The Company did brisk business and gradually increased its share to 1600 and advancing its capital to Rs. 40,000 by 1883.⁵⁷ The share-holders who invested were regularly paid their dividends showing the success of the Company.⁵⁸ The Company imported cloth from Bombay, Benaras, Bellary, Bangalore and other places. It also sold European printed cloth. The price charged by the Company was $6\frac{1}{4}$ percent, or one anna over and above every rupee paid for purchase by them at different places, plus the cost of bringing the articles to Dharwar. The Company opened a branch at Hubli in 1877, whose affairs were managed by four of the directors with an agent in each of the shops at Hubli and Dharwar.

However, a sudden blow was wrought by one of the most severe famines of the 19th century in 1877-78. The famine stalked the entire Southern Mahratta Country taking with it a heavy toll of life. The

55. Tirmalrao's answers to Ten Questions, 24th April, 1888, p. 64, Daftar S, *Inamdar MSS.*

56. Agricultural Report, 1885-86, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

57. Number of share-holders were 132-Brahmins, 5-Lingaits, one Mudliyar, one tailor and 1 shepard of whom 85 were government servants, four Brahmin priests, 15 students, 13 traders, 8 men of means, 4 Govt. pensioners, 5 pleaders, one news-paper editor, one contractor. (*Gazetteer 1884*, *op. cit.*, p. 352.)

58. The dividend paid by the Company during 1876-1883 is as follows :

	Rs. As.		Rs. As.
1876	9-12	1880	9-0
1877	12-0	1881	9-12
1878	15-0	1882	6-0
1879	11-4	1883	8-4

— Daftar A, “Notes,” *Inamdar MSS.*

poorest classes were the worst affected. They had to part with the little gold and silver ornaments and brass vessels accumulated during the better years. It is said that "during the first year of the famine, except the very poorest, the Dharwar land-holders did not suffer." Stocks of grain from the previous year were utilized and even sent to famine-stricken areas. It was during the second year that most felt the severity of the famine.⁵⁹ In the Dharwar market there were instances of grain shops being looted. Even under these adverse circumstances there were people who accrued profit, such as the grain merchants and moneylenders. People pawned even clothes for grain in addition to ornaments. A money-lender who had thus prospered jocularly remarked that he wished the famine continued a little longer or visited with regularity.⁶⁰

The ill-effects of the famine were to some extent lessened by the construction of a railway line in 1879. The railway once again brought about stability in the economy. Trade and commerce which was disrupted by the severe famine was again revived. However, the aftermath of the famine was perceived in inflation in terms of the prices of commodities.⁶¹

*Table : Price of commodities in the Dharwar Market :
1852, 1862, 1872 and 1888*

Name of Commodity	Dharwar Seer per Rupee			
	1852	1862	1872	1888
Jowri	44	15½	11	6
Rice	22	9½	7	5½
Togri	18	9½	9½	4
Salt	20	12	7½	6

Source : Appendix P, First Settlement Report of Dharwar Taluka.

The town of Dharwar which had a branch of the Bank of Bombay opened in 1863, was closed in November 1878, as the business was directed to Hubli.⁶² Merchants in Dharwar, however, took the aid of native bankers who granted "Hundis" for an amount upto Rs. 5,000 to

59. *Gazetteer* (1884), p. 60.

60. Cited by Tirmalrao in "Money-lending in Dharwar Dist". 15th February, 1882, para 27-287, *Daftar S, Inamdar MSS.*

61. Q. 10, Trimalrao - "Answers to Ten Questions," *Daftar S, Inamdar MSS.*

62. *Gazetteer* (1884), footnote, p. 322.

Rs. 5,10,000 at places like Bombay, Poona, Madras, Bellary, Bangalore, Kumta and Karwar.⁶³

The result of better means of communication, contact with distant places and a proliferation of prosperous merchants brought about considerable improvement in the Dharwar market. Goods which were once sold in the market of the old town was not sufficient for purposes of trade. A new extensive market was, therefore, constructed as a consequence of which the town extended towards the west. The Municipality constructed the Robertson Market towards the west of the Halgeri tank. Nearly eighty more shops were constructed again during the 1870s flanking the southern side of the Halgeri tank.⁶⁴

As the capacity for purchasing new commodities increased with the people, the traders began to import new articles of use. Articles imported from Bombay such as glass-ware, candles, lamps, carpets, utensils were brought by small traders in the Dharwar market for reselling them in the interior and other small towns. People began to buy greater quantity of machine-made cloth from Bombay. They became more discerning with regard to print and quality of cloth. Caps from Europe were in great demand as also wool for jackets and trousers.⁶⁵ The upper classes, especially used imported European articles extensively. Articles such as matches, kerosene, stationery, clocks, expensive liquor, cutlery and cloth were in great demand.⁶⁶

These changes in their own way had a repercussion on the native society. While the upper classes benefited by the variety of articles they could buy, it hit hard the native artisans. Local manufacture, unable to compete with the superior imported article began to suffer. Dharwar which had 78 cloth and 27 wooden looms was unable to compete with imported cloth, as they had no buyers.⁶⁷

The effects of imported commodities on the local produce was quite marked as early as the late 1860s. A prominent citizen of Dharwar addressed young men thus : "If you do not give up your indolence and if you persist in your present state, you may be sure that the European will snatch away from you even what little work is still left in your

63. No. 5122, Tirmalrao to I. R. Beltington, Daftar S, *Inamdar MSS*.

64. *Gazetteer* (1884).

65. Tirmalrao, Question No. 8, "Answers to Ten Questions," *Inamdar MSS*.

66. *Ibid*.

67. First Settlement Report of Dharwar Taluka, Selections from the S. D. Commissioner's File, p. 35.

hands.”⁶⁸ He pointed out that any Indian whether walking on the street or in his house made extensive use of European articles. He gave the example of how the native paper manufacturers who were prosperous in the 1820s in Shahpur were ruined. He, therefore, exhorted young men to make use of their knowledge in science not merely to make up a job in Government service but to put it to use to start some type of manufacture which would benefit them and the people, and thus contribute to the prosperity of the Indian society. Caste, he added, need not come in the way of taking up a vocation as it could be modified and carefully circumvented so that a person could take up the manufacture of a commodity without becoming an outcaste. Thus, the economy of India could be saved from ruin and European imports could be restricted.⁶⁹ When the Governor, Sir P. Wodehouse, visited Dharwar in 1880, the Address presented to him said : “We should be only misleading your Excellency, were we to tell you that no cause of complaint, distress and discontent exist. The people generally – cultivators, traders, and others – are not so well off. Some industries, arts, manufacture are declining”⁷⁰ and the people who had lost their hereditary occupation had been ruined and had not been able to adapt to new circumstances.

Thus improvement in economy brought in its wake both prosperity and misery, but what one cannot fail to notice is that a general change had been brought about by improvements in agriculture, trade, commerce and the economy of the region. Dharwar being one of the chief markets of the Collectorate, it cannot be denied that what happened in the entire Collectorate was reflected in the economy of the Dharwar market. With the improvement in the economic status of the people, their values changed, their needs became more and they began to buy more articles of daily use.

68. Speech by Tirmalrao to young men at Native General Library, 1867, No. 491, Daftar J, *Inamdar MSS*.

69. Tirmalrao, *op. cit.*

70. Address to Sir Philip Wodehouse, No. 606, Daftar E, *Inamdar MSS*.

STRATEGY OF INTEGRATION OF SLUMS INTO THE COMMUNITY* IN THE LIGHT OF THE STUDIES ON INDIAN SLUMS

M. S. DHADAVE

The process of urbanisation involved complex and complicated problems. It has given rise to a host of problems in the Indian Cities. The slums and squatter colonies have increased and multiplied every year. The growth of slums in the Metropolitan Cities is very rapid. According to the Sociology Division of the Town and Country Planning Organisation of the Government of India (1973) in Delhi, there are about 1,373 slums covering 1,41,755 households and 18 to 20% of the total population of Delhi lives in slums. The basic development plan of Calcutta published in 1966 states that about one-quarter of the total population of Calcutta, and 1/3rd of the population of Howrah, i. e., approximately 9,12,000 people, lived in Bastees under the most degrading conditions.¹ A slum may be understood here as an area characterised by inadequate housing, deficient facilities, over-crowding and congestion, a set of norms and values, and being Semi-isolated from the main stream of community life. The present paper is a critical appraisal of the strategies adopted in integrating slums with the community within the existing theoretical framework, and seeks to suggest some strategies to be adopted for the development of slums and their integration into the community.

'Integration' may be viewed here as the process in which the differences of the members are neither suppressed nor compromised but instead harmonised or synthesized. There is no unanimity among sociologists regarding types of integration or the levels of integration to be achieved in the community. Landecker (1951) points out four types of integration : 1) Cultural 2) Normative 3) Communicative, and 4) Functional.

'Cultural integration' refers to consistency among cultural standards. 'Normative integration' means the consistency between cultural standards

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1. Deva Raj : Settling the squatters : Yojana, volume XX, No. 21, New Delhi, 15-31 Dec. 1976, pp. 13-14.

and the conduct of persons. 'Communicative integration' refers to the extent to which the net work of communications permeates the social system, and 'functional integration' is the degree to which there is mutual interdependence among the units of a system of division of labour. The last three types of integration are subsumed under social integration.²

Durkheim (1893) presents two contrasting types of integration: (1) Mechanical solidarity (2) Organic solidarity. The first one is the combination of cultural and normative integration and the second one is functional integration. Mechanical solidarity is the integration of parts through common values and beliefs. In contrast to mechanical solidarity, Durkheim distinguishes organic solidarity in which integration is achieved through inter-dependence, the parts of the whole reciprocate services as do the parts of an organism.³

Merton (1949) advocated functional integration. It is believed that the specialized parts of society that survive in the course of evolution are making a positive contribution to the social system. Two criteria are evolved in determining the extent of functional integration, viz; the degree of specialisation and the degree of inter-dependence.⁴

Shils and Wirth (1948) believed that the connection between the periphery and the centre largely consists in the attachment of the masses to the central institutional and value system of the society. The communication factor seem to be closely associated with the normative factor.⁵

Despress (1968) formulated three alternative models of Social Integration which are more relevant in this context. They are : (1) The Homogeneous Model (2) The Heterogeneous Model (3) The Plural Model.

The homogeneous model stands for the type of integration where society and culture are coterminous. The plural society is one in which there are several groups which are more or less autonomous in the local-communities, each group having institutional structures which are valid for itself; each group has its own educational, religious, social, and political associations. Such cultural groups are socially exclusive but are

2. Landekar, Werner S : Types of Integration and their Measurement, *American Journal of Sociology*, 56, 1951, PP. 332-340.

3. Durkheim, Emile : *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893) quoted in *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* by Robert-Cooley Angel, 1960, pp. 380-386.

4. Merton R. K. : *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glenco-Ill., "On Manifest and Latent Functions," 1957, pp. 21-81.

5. Wirth, Louis : "Consensus and Mass Communication," *American Sociological Review*, 13, 1948, pp. 1-15.

integrated at the regional or country-wide level through appropriate political institutions with the compulsive political tie. On the other hand, in the heterogeneous model of society there are several cultural groups. These are integrated at the local community level by their common participation in the local institutional structures such as schools, economic, political and recreational associations, and local self-Government; whose values and norms are shared by all.

Social exclusiveness among cultural groups is reduced in the heterogeneous model. An important distinction between the plural and the heterogeneous model is that in the former the cultural groups are integrated only at the regional or countrywide level, while in the latter they are integrated at the local community level.⁶

This survey of different types of integration explains the nature of integration existing in a society, or measures to be adopted to integrate different kinds of groups within a country. Several studies have been carried out by Western scholars in the context of conditions prevailing in Western society. The types of integration identified in the light of conditions different from those of our own society, may not hold good for our society. However, it should be realised that the different types of integration are not mutually exclusive. No single model of integration can be used exclusively for analysing the process of integration in a society. There are inter relationships among the so-called types of integration. For instance, we observe that functional integration is relative to normative integration; Communicative integration strengthens the functional and normative integration. Similarly, we may have to think of Emile Durkheim's two types of solidarity, namely, mechanical and organic solidarity, as related phenomena. Even in the most complex societies, we can find small homogeneous groups representing a kind of mechanical solidarity. Of the models developed by Despress, I feel, that the heterogeneous model is more applicable to Indian conditions. India is a country wherein different religious, racial, linguistic and cultural groups are surviving for many centuries. We cannot force any group to give up its culture and values and accept something which is alien to it. It is also equally difficult for every group to maintain its identity of culture and value without being influenced by other groups. Therefore, the heterogeneous model not only provides an opportunity for the group to retain its culture, institutions, values but also to be integrated at the local community level by its common participation in the local institutions. We

6. Despress Leo : "Anthropological theory, Cultural Pluralism and the Study of Complex Societies," in *Current Anthropology*, volume-9, 1968, pp. 3-26.

shall now observe some of the efforts and strategies adopted in Indian Society to achieve integration of slums into the community. The Planning Commission assisted by social scientists embarked upon a strategy of integration to be achieved in India by conforming to the heterogeneous model in all its programmes of development. It seems there is near unanimity between men in power and social thinkers over the three ways contemplated in achieving integration of slums into community. They are : (1) Physical improvement of the slums (2) Establishment of welfare service centres. (3) Providing economic opportunities to the slum dwellers.

Physical improvement of the slums involves the provision of houses to the slum dwellers and improvement of the slum environment by way of providing better roads, underground drainage, public bath rooms, drinking water facilities etc. Three types of schemes have been undertaken to improve the slums environment and to provide better housing facilities : (1) Rehousing the slum Dwellers (2) Slum Improvements (3) Providing sites and services.

It was in 1952 that the Govt. of India launched the subsidised scheme of housing of individual workers with 50% Capital as subsidy, and the balance as loan, to be given by the State Govt. and local bodies. The scheme was extended in 1957-58 to cover the re-housing of slum dwellers in general. But only 72,584 dwellings could be completed by 1969, an annual average of 5,583 dwellings against the 1,13,550 sanctioned. If efforts continue at this slow rate, several decades will pass before we are able to accommodate the present 19 lakhs slum-dwellers. It also involves heavy expenditure and financial burden for the nation. The difficulties of land acquisition, the paucity of finance, and the rising costs, have made it practically impossible to provide enough houses to the slum-community. New approaches and innovations to cut costs have been tried with the support of HUDCO (Housing and Urban Development Corporation) by combining commercial projects with housing for economically weaker sections. In spite of these admirable efforts we are in no way nearer to bridge the increasing housing gap.

It is these circumstances that mark the shift of emphasis from slum clearance to conservation and improvement. In April 1972, the Central Govt., started a scheme to improve the environment in slum areas. Under this Scheme the areas eligible for assistance were cities with population of 8 lakhs and above as per the 1971 census. The allotment of funds was according to size of population, and ranged from Rs. 1 crore to 3.5 crore per city. For 11 cities an amount of Rs. 20 crores was

allotted. The Fifth Plan extends the scheme to all cities with population of 3 lakhs, or over. But the scheme now is transferred to the State sector. The progress has been uneven and the investment made has brought up new problems of maintenance.

In order to solve the problems of slum dwellers, another scheme, namely, the sites and services scheme, was started by the Govt. of India in 1975. It has developed 85 Sq. yard plots with civic amenities, and distributed them to the slum dwellers on nominal rent. The Delhi Development Authority carried out the scheme during the winter of 1975-76. A massive operation of clearance of squatter colonies and re-settlement of 80 thousand house holds in 27 newly developed colonies was undertaken by Delhi Development Authority. Another 70 thousand sites were formed by middle of 1976, and 50 thousand more families actually shifted. These schemes, in fact, have created many socio-economic problems in the life of the slum dwellers. They are : dislocation of existing social and economic structures of the slum dwellers, and the problem of re-adjustment in the new areas.⁷

The Second way of taking up slum improvement is by establishing social welfare Centres in the slums. The social welfare centre is the first agency to go into slum areas to undertake welfare activities. These consist of starting Kindergartens, Boys Clubs; activities like sewing, handicrafts and literacy classes, including cultural activities. Such agencies work successfully in urban neighbourhoods, and are helpful in bringing some of the healthy village traditions into the urban areas, especially into the slums.⁸ Welfare agencies appear to be useful in bringing about desired changes in the slum areas, but it has been discovered by social scientists that these agencies have failed to enlist the active participation of the residents of slums, and have never succeeded in bringing about real change in the life of slum dwellers, as they fail to understand the aspirations, needs, and values of the slum-dwellers. The free services provided by the centres, sometimes, lead to continued dependence of slums on welfare centres.

The third approach suggested to improve the slums is by providing economic opportunities to the slum dwellers. The economic opportunities to be provided to the slum-dwellers should include adequate wages, guaranteed minimum income, non-discriminatory employment policies,

7. Deva Raj : "Settling the squatters", *Yojana*, Volume XX, No. 21, New Delhi, (December 1976), PP. 13-14.

8. Harvey Zorbaugh : *Gold Coast and the Slum*, University of Chicago 1957, P. 263.

inexpensive credit for low-income people, aggressive and imaginative job development by the employment agencies, re-awakening of trade Unions, interest in the training of poor and re-training of adults etc.⁹

Slum Dwellers will be placed in a better position if they are provided with better economic opportunities than mere services provided by the social-welfare agencies. But the problems of slums cannot be solved adequately only through providing economic opportunities. A community development approach is followed to solve the problems of the slum dwellers in some of the Indian Cities.

Initiation to this approach was first taken in 1958 with the establishment of the Delhi Pilot Project financed by the Ford Foundation. Later many such urban community development projects were started in India. Such projects were undertaken in Ahmedabad with the help of Ford Foundation; and in Baroda, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. Afterwards, 14 new projects were started in different parts of the country. The Central Government sponsored them through the then Ministry of Health, Family and Urban Development. Many of these projects still function. Marshall A. Clinard and B. Chatterjee (1962), write about the objectives of the Delhi Pilot Projects. The goal of the Delhi Project has been to promote the growth of healthy, harmonious and satisfying community life and to encourage the development of citizen participation in programmes of civic improvement. The objectives are : (1) Social Integration of the community on a local neighbourhood basis to participate in self-help and mutual aid programmes, (2) Development of a sense of civic pride by stimulating local interest in civic betterment campaign, (3) Preparation of the ground for democratic decentralisation of Municipal services through the organisation of Vikas Mandals fostering local leadership, (4) Creation of the necessary climate for undertaking programmes of economic betterment based on maximum use of community resources and local initiative.

A scientific effort has been made to bring about change and development in the life of the slum dwellers through such Pilot Projects. These programmes had a special evaluation unit. This unit evaluated the impact of the activities of the projects in relation to social integration. In its report the achievements of the programme were highlighted. They are : fall in anti-social activities, acceptance of new practices, better use of civil services, recreation and health, education, self-help, fund-raising

9. David R. Hunter : *The slums : Challenge and Response*, A Free Press paper back, The Macmillon Co., 1964, PP. 141-170.

for community works, change in outlook, attitude towards better health and patterns of living etc.¹⁰ Nayak P. R. (1968) observes that factors such as caste, religion, profession, welfare association have facilitated in achieving the desired goals while the political organisations do not appear to have shown a positive attitude towards the programme. Pre-occupation with major problems of life, like employment, and better standard of life, 'stood in the way of citizens' full appreciation of the urban community development programmes.¹¹

The Ministry of Health drew up a detailed scheme for setting up 40 projects in Urban community development, in cities having a population of one lakh and over, during the Third. Five Year Plan period. The aim of these projects was to change the attitudes and motivation of the people, rather than to effect social welfare.

The evaluation of some of the urban community development projects carried out in U. P. in 1969 showed the following weaknesses of these programmes :

i) No proper planning was done in connection with the fixation of priorities of the programmes before the projects were started; (ii) Local authorities did not draw any specific plans or development schemes in advance for the area which were to be taken up under the projects; (iii) There was no proper co-ordination between the various local departments; (iv) There was difficulty in obtaining 50% contribution from people in respect of local development activities, and (v) The Project Advisory Committee at the Municipal level did not function properly for a long time.

In spite of these difficulties, achievement in the field of organisation of physical improvement, health and sanitation, education and economic programmes were beneficial to the slum dwellers.¹²

The strategies suggested in bringing about greater integration of slum dwellers into community are in no way intended to suggest that the heterogeneous model has lost its relevance, but are intended to promote better integration within the frame work of the said model and thus reduce its inadequacies. They also aim at overcoming the shortcomings in the effective implementation of the projects.

10. Marshall B. Clinard & B. Chatterjee : "Urban community Development in India : The Delhi Pilot Project," in *Indias Urban Future.*, Ed., by Roy Turner, 1962.

11. Nayak : P. R. "Community development-urban," in *Encyclopedia of social work in India* Vol. 1 p. 134.

12. G. R. Madan : Indian Social problems Vol. II Allied Publishers, 1967, p. 169.

For the integration of slums in the community, we have to follow a multi-dimensional approach. Following strategies may be adopted to improve and to integrate the slums into the community.

Strategies for Improvement of the Slums :

i) Any move of integration of the slums in the community or to establish relations between slums and community should be mediated in such a way that the distinctive internal properties and the boundaries of the system and entity are to be maintained. The differences among the members are neither suppressed nor compromised, but instead, they are organized, or synthesized, and are transmuted into a group idea, or group policy.

ii) The scientific study of the different levels of slum life should be made so that maximum participation of the slum-dwellers can be achieved with suitable modifications in their way of life. We have to achieve integration at the normative, cultural, functional, and the communications level. We have to bridge the gap between slums and the rest of the community at these different levels. These different levels depend upon one another, and a lack of integration at any one level contains the germs of disintegration in the community. We have to develop certain common norms which are appreciated both at the cultural as well as the social levels. At the economic level, division of labour should be increased in order to achieve maximum interdependence between the slum-dwellers and the non-slum dwellers. Functional integration is not possible without the development of standard norms in exchange services, or in contract, or in market relations. These common norms are to be institutionalised and incorporated into the socialization processes of the whole community. The process of communication should be strengthened to establish better relations among the slum-dwellers at various levels, cultural, normative and functional. It is the mass-media that provide opportunities to the people, especially the slum-dwellers, to modify their way of thinking and living. Mass-media as a form of adult socialization will be useful to inculcate the common ultimate values in the life of the community and remain visible as continuing force of consensus. In order to achieve the above-mentioned goals, we have to undertake a comprehensive programme of social, economic, educational and political development of the slum area alongwith the housing and slum area improvement programmes.

iii) In order to bring about planned change and development in the slums, community development projects are to be started on the model, of Delhi or of Ahmedabad. The Objectives of these projects should take into account the needs, values and aspiration of the slum dwellers. The

projects should solicit the participation of slum-dwellers in decision-making, problem-solving and resource-mobilization. They should assist in providing primary services like health, education and welfare to the slums to provide a base for human development. The main object should be to increase the productive abilities and earning potentialities of the people concerned.

iv) We have to place special emphasis on increasing economic opportunities of the slum-dwellers. The slum-dwellers would appreciate better employment opportunities, where effective employment becomes so meaningful in their lives. The areas of interdependence between slum-dwellers and the community should be increased. The slum conditions cannot be improved, unless the slum-dwellers get opportunities to work and to have income sufficient to support at least modest aspirations for better living. High priority to develop employment opportunities for younger workers, aggressive and imaginative job development by the public employment agency, need to be provided. Services of accessible and inexpensive credit to low-income people, and extension of the benefits of social insurance are to be provided to the slum-dwellers. Training and re-training of adults would go a long way in improving their socio-economic conditions. It is the urgent need of every slum dweller to seek job opportunities to their grown-up boys. Otherwise, they are likely to become deviants and criminals in society.

v) We have seen that slums are known for their low level of education. The schools help to improve the life chances of slum children. Efforts should be made to establish Balwadies and Primary Schools, High Schools, and vocational training centres with all the necessary equipments in each slum area, and to enroll the maximum number of children from the school-going age group. Medium of instruction should be the mother tongue.

vi) The slum-dwellers who are untouchables do not freely interact with caste Hindus in the rest of the community. G.S. Ghurye writes : "The orthodox members of other sections and they form the bulk, look upon them with dislike and even contempt and regard them as incapable of a more healthy, cleanly and moral life. They spurn to have any dealings with them."¹³ The problem of integration of untouchables in the community need to be scientifically studied and more effective strategies be adopted. The constitutional provisions should be strictly adhered to and their implementation be done with utmost urgency. Such an attempt

13. Ghurye G. S. : *I and Other Exploration*, Bombay : Popular Prakashan, p. 319.

would put an end to the long-standing disabilities and deprivation. These would ensure greater participation of slum-dwellers in social economic, and political life of the community.

vii) Provision of new houses to every slum-dweller is very costly and an almost impossible task. It is worthwhile that further construction of dwellings in the existing slums is discouraged, and any new construction coming up in the old slums may have to be demolished. All newcomers to the cities, and specially people from weaker sections, may have to seek the housing facilities in new housing projects. This precaution is necessary to stop the further growth of the existing slum areas. Such a step would be helpful in improving slum environment, and at the same time, prevent the growth of slum sub-culture.

A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS IN PRIVATE VIS-a-VIS GOVERNMENT COLLEGES*

AMBARAO T. UPLAONKER

Private Enterprise in Education

"Private Colleges", meaning colleges conducted by private bodies of citizens of voluntary agencies have been playing an important role in the rapid expansion of education in India. They cater to the needs of an overwhelming majority, nearly 80-90 percent of University (undergraduate) students (U.G.C. Report, 1964-65).

A British Legacy

The policy of promoting private enterprise in education in modern India is a legacy of the British system of education. The British were the first to introduce a formal system of education based on values of democracy, liberalism and secularism. However, their aim in introducing such a system of education was rooted in their vested interest: to prepare a small group of English educated elites to help in manning their (British) colonial administration. Thus the British were not interested in educating the Indian masses and creating a democratic, literate and modern society. Obviously, the British Government did not consider the promotion and provision of education entirely the state's responsibility. Nor did it consider education as an absolute necessity for every Indian, to be provided free of cost, and compulsorily. Education was considered a commodity which could be made available to those who could purchase it at prices fixed by various suppliers of the commodity (Desai, 1967 : 103). Notwithstanding the lukewarm attitude of the British towards mass education, private agencies organised by Indians rose to the occasion and played a dynamic (in the context of colonial rule) role in spreading education to the people (see Paramasivayya, 1959 : 137-145). Nevertheless, the efforts of private agencies in spreading education were mainly aimed at liberating

* The present paper is based on data collected for my Ph. D. thesis : "A Study of Occupational Aspirations, as Related to Social Background of Students in Higher Education in a Middle sized City in Karnataka" under the supervision of Prof. M. S. Gore, former Director, TISS, Bombay and former Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, Bombay. However, the data used in this paper did not form the basis of the thesis.

the country from the colonial rule of the British rather than building a socialist, democratic, secular and welfare society (see Misra, 1973).

Goals of Private Enterprise in Modern India

Innovation in Education

In the post-Independence India, the policy of encouraging private enterprise in the sphere of education has received a great fillip; it has so far been the main bulwork of the education system in India. The major consideration that influenced the Government of India in continuing the policy of private enterprise was voluntary involvement of the people – groups, organisations and individuals – in the task of nation-building through the process of educational expansion. “Use of voluntary agency which is the nursery of democracy is a sign of social advance in a free society born out of social conscience and Philanthropy” (Chowdhury, 1971 : 36). As against a Government run institution, which people in general would consider an extension of the bureaucracy, private agencies were supposed to put their heart and soul in running the institution more efficiently and devotedly by individual care and personal supervision of the institution, teachers and students. The management’s identification with the college and involvement in the educational process was supposed to motivate them for maintaining high standards and excellence in education. The managements were also supposed to introduce suitable courses depending upon the needs of the local community. Thus private enterprise, in theory, was supposed to bring about innovation and change in the educational system and thereby modernise the Indian society.

Paucity of Funds

Besides voluntary involvement of the people in the educational process, paucity of funds with the Government on the one hand, and large (private) resources, both material and human, of religious establishments, trusts and individual philanthropists not being fruitfully and profitably used, on the other, prompted the Government to encourage private enterprise in education. Thus private bodies were encouraged to take the initiative in the educational process by contributing (a part of) their resources, raising funds through donations and thus perform a task for which Government would have had to spend a much larger amount. Indeed private managements (at least in the beginning) did make a sizable contribution through the setting up of institutions of higher learning by soliciting donations and mobilisation of funds (Azad, 1974 : 74). Thus the strategy of encouraging private enterprise to play its due role was recognised as a part of national educational planning, and was firmly entrenched in the five year plans.

Communal Basis of Private Enterprise in Education

Soon after Independence, there was a rapid growth of private colleges all over India. There was, however, a significant change in their goals. The nationalist zeal and the patriotic spirit with which they worked before was being replaced by caste and community interests. The starting of private educational institutions by the non-Brahmin castes, especially in South India, was a counterpoise to the Brahmanical monopoly of learning and their exclusivism and exploitativeness of an earlier era. The non-Brahmin high castes such as Lingayats and Vakkaligas in Karnataka, the Reddys and Kammās in Andhra Pradesh and the Naidus and Nadars in Tamil Nadu, who had been denied access to formal education and white-collar jobs at the hands of Brahmins, viewed formal education as a means of social mobility (For Brahmin exploitation, see Irschick, 1969 : 14; Manor, 1977 : 32; Ramaswamy, 1978 : 292 and Beteille, 1969 : 216). In Karnataka, for example, after Independence, many affluent individuals from non-Brahmin high castes such as the Lingayats and Vokkaligas contributed to educational advancement by building caste hostels, by starting new schools and by endowing scholarships. Among the Lingayats especially, the wealthy Mutts (monasteries) played a big role in developing educational facilities. "The cause of education received substantial monetary support from philanthropists like Lingaraj of Sirsangi, and a large number of schools and colleges were set up in many parts of north Karnataka. The Lingayat Mutts contributed in no small measure to the spread of learning among all classes" (Halappa, 1964 : 30; Paramasivayya, 1959 : 141).

In dealing with the Indian situation Srinivas says "education becomes a status symbol for the community and a source of economic and social influence for the entrepreneur" (1968 : 36). Thus there was a keen competition among different castes and communities to open as

1. In Gulbarga city before Independence Nutan Vidyalaya High School was said to be the only high school run by Brahmins. It is alleged that non-Brahmin upper castes such as Lingayats were seldom given admission to the school. As a result Poojya Doddappa Appa, Head of Sri Sharanabasaveshwar Samsthan, a Lingayat Institution, founded and established the Sharanabasaveshwar Vidya Vardhak Sangh with a view to opening schools and colleges for the benefit of non-Brahmins in general and Lingayats in particular. Following in the footsteps of the Appa, Late Sri Mahadevappa Rampure (a Lingayat), the then Congress M. P. from Gulbarga district, founded the present Hyderabad Karnataka Education Society with the aim of providing education, especially professional, to the people of Hyderabad Karnatak comprising Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts which were very backward before their merger or integration with the then Mysore (the present Karnataka) State.

many colleges of different types (Arts, Commerce, Science, Medical, Engineering and B. Ed.) as possible to provide better avenues of social mobility to members of their community. Thus the private sector became very active on the educational scene and there was a flood of new private institutions at all levels and these were closely associated with caste and religious considerations.

Until recently² private managements enjoyed a lot of freedom in the appointment, confirmation, promotion, including sanctioning of increments, and termination of services of teachers. The fee charged in private colleges was, and is even now, much higher than in the Government colleges. Portraits of saints of respective Caste/communities are hung in the colleges. Statues and busts of founder members are erected on the college campuses, so much so, even student's Union activities reflected a communal bias. Thus private colleges have been functioning as different forums of castes and communities. They seem to have become centres of particularistic, sectarian, ascriptive rather than universalistic, secular and achieved values.

A monumental study of private enterprise in education in Karnataka by Madan and Halbar (1966: 121-147) revealed that the social composition of management, staff and students in private colleges reflected the community of the controlling group or the dominant caste that managed the colleges. On the basis of their data, the authors concluded that public education (probably they meant Government colleges), due to its greater demographic representativeness, was conducive to the promotion of universalistic values and equality, while the particularistic 'favouritism' of private institutions detracts from both. In a recent study Nirmal Singh says "the private managements are a redundant role and in practice they disoriented the teachers role, students role and put them against each other as well as against their better self, in fact, against education itself" (1979 : 28) It is necessary to examine the extent to which private colleges vis-a-vis Government colleges are adapting themselves to the demands of modernisation viz., democracy, socialism and secularism. To be specific, to what extent the private colleges are becoming open to students of different castes, communities, social classes, sexes and rural-urban back-

2. After 1977 there were radical changes in the rules and regulations governing private colleges. For example, salaries of teachers started being disbursed through the cheque system. Teachers could not be appointed nor removed without prior permission from the Government. Proportionate representation of the SC, ST, OBC, etc., in the appointment of the teaching and non-teaching staff was to be observed strictly according to the roster prepared by the Government.

ground? Are they undergoing the process of "decompression", as put forth by the Rudolphs (1967: 24-26), so as to meet the demands of modernisation? Do Government colleges represent a relatively secular and egalitarian character in terms of students' social background, as Madan and Halbar have pointed out?

The study is crucial in as much as higher education wields a strong influence on the tender age and formative period of student youth and thereby socialises them in a set of values, attitudes and outlooks which either integrate them with or alienate them from the larger culture of modern India.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to examine whether or not there was any association between caste/community of the privately managed colleges vis-a-vis Government colleges and their respective student social background in terms of religion, caste, class, sex and rural-urban background. The specific objectives were as follows:

- 1- To know the degree to which private colleges represented a sectarian character of student social composition and
- 2- To find out whether or not Government colleges represented a secular and egalitarian character of student social background.

Methodology

The universe of the present study consisted of all the pre-university second year students (1300) studying in all the colleges of Gulbarga city (Karnataka) during the year 1979-80. The data for the present study were collected by administering a printed semi-structured questionnaire in English and also in Kannada, the regional language of Karnataka State, on PUC II year students. The association between caste/community of the management and students' social background was tested for its significance by using the χ^2 test.

Social Composition

A majority of the respondents in the population were Hindus while 52 percent of the Hindu students were from such castes as Lingayats, Marathas, Reddys, Kurubas etc., 26 percent were from lower castes and 22 percent were upper caste (Brahmin). Males constituted a majority (75 percent). Forty-nine, 32 and 27 percents of students belonged to low, middle and high family status, respectively. Twenty-one, 17 and 62 per

cents of students were drawn from the villages, towns and cities, respectively.

Students' Enrolment in Colleges

An analysis of students' enrolment in various colleges revealed that 33 percent of students enrolled in the colleges run by Sri Sharanabasaveshwar Vidya Vardhak Sangh (SVVS., a Lingayat Society) and 15 percent in the colleges run by Hyderabad Karnatak Education Society (HKES., another Lingayat dominated Society). In other words, 48 percent of students were enrolled in the colleges managed by Lingayats. A further break up of the data showed that 11, 9 and 6 percents of students were drawn from the colleges managed by Nutan Vidyalaya Society (NVS, a Brahmin Society), the Khaja Educational Society (KES., a Muslim Society) and the Methodist Church (MC., a Christian Society), respectively. Although 26 percent (the next majority) of students were drawn from the two (Junior and composite) Government Colleges, compared to students in all the private colleges, this percentage formed only a minority.

To sum up, a majority of students were from private colleges. While the Lingayat managed colleges enrolled the largest students, other colleges managed by Brahmins, Muslims and Christians had small proportion of students. Government colleges had a small proportion of students, compared to private colleges.

Caste / Community of the Management and Social Background of the Respondents

TABLE — I

Percentage Distribution of Students' Religion by Management

Students' Religion	Management				Total
	H	C	M	G	
H	94	100	12	83	85
M	6	—	89	17	15
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total No.	769	76	110	346	1300
% to Total No.	59	9	9	26	100

$$\chi^2 = 500.9 < .001$$

$$df = 6$$

NOTE : H = Hindu; C = Christian; M = Muslim; G = Government.

Religion :

An analysis of the data presented in Table-I clearly revealed that of the total students, 94 percent were Hindus. It is significant to record that while the Christian college had cent percent Hindus, Government colleges (83 percent) had a majority of Hindus. For the high proportion of Hindu students in Christian college may be due to two reasons : (1) Christians formed a small proportion of the total population in Gulbarga City. (2) The students in Christian college were scheduled castes. The data with regard to Government colleges showed that although there were 26 percent (of the total) of students, 83 percent of them belonged to the Hindu fold. This clearly showed that Government management did not necessarily attract students from heterogeneous religious background. In other words, Government management, as our data showed, did not necessarily reflect a secular character in the social background of college students.

Data with regard to Muslim colleges showed that while they represented only 9 percent of the total number of students, an overwhelming majority of them (88 percent were Muslims).

The above data revealed the following findings.

- 1- There was a high degree of association between community background of management and that of the respondents. To be specific, while Hindu students tended to cluster in Hindu managed colleges, Muslim students were predominantly found in Muslim managed colleges.
- 2- The Christian college had cent percent Hindu students.
- 3- Government management did not mean secular³ (in terms of different religious groups) character of students' religious back-ground. On the contrary, Government colleges, under inquiry, were being mostly represented by Hindu students.

3. The term 'secular' is understood in terms of non-predominance of a single caste or community.

Caste :

TABLE - II

Percentage Distribution of Students' Caste by Management

Students' Caste	Management					Total
	L	B	C	M	G	
Low	19	10	89	15	32	26
Middle	65	28	11	46	48	52
High	16	62	—	39	20	22
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total No.	585	141	76	13	287	1102
% to Total	52	12	9	2	25	100

$$\chi^2 = 319.3 < .001$$

$$df = 8$$

NOTE : L = Lingayat; B = Brahmin; C = Christian; M = Muslim;
G = Government

It will be seen from the data in Table-II that of the 52 percent of total strength of students from Lingayat colleges, 65 percent were from Lingayat and other backward castes, while scheduled and uppercaste (Brahmin) students constituted only 19 and 16 percents, respectively. On the other hand, in Brahmin college, as overwhelming majority (62 per cent) of students were Brahmins. Lingayat and other castes and scheduled caste students constituted only 28 and 10 percents, respectively. In the Christian college, an over-whelming majority (89 percent) were scheduled castes.

Caste composition of Government colleges revealed that Lingayats and other castes and scheduled castes constituted the majority, while Brahmins represented only 20 percent. It is important to observe here that eventhough scheduled castes students were eligible for fee exemption in any private college, nevertheless, they tended to concentrate in Government colleges. One important reason was that the social and cultural complex of the private colleges in terms of their teachers and students' caste background, caste peers, social and cultural activities of the students' Union probably kept them all off from participation and involvement. This tends to create a sense of alienness in their minds in case they join a college where they do not find their caste peers in sizable numbers.

It could also be seen from the data that though there were Lingayat Colleges catering to the needs of Lingayats, 48 percent of Lingayat and

other caste students were found in Government colleges. This may be due to more class than caste factor as the fee charged in the former was higher than in the latter.

To sum up, there was an association between caste of the respondents and college managements. Lingayats and other allied castes and Brahmin students enrolled themselves in colleges run by their respective caste managements. Scheduled castes students preferred to get admissions in Government and Christian colleges.

Social Class

Class status constitutes an important interacting factor in status hierarchy in any society. Ideally class status and caste/community background represent secular and ritual dimensions of social status and are different from each other. However, in practice both secular and ritual dimensions interact with each other and thus secular or class status is not entirely independent of ritual background. Therefore, it is important to find out whether there was any association between class status for the respondents and caste/community of the management. For example, it was attempted to find out whether or not Lingayat and Muslim colleges had students from low and middle classes compared to Brahmins.

TABLE – III

Percentage Distribution of Students' Social Class by Management

Students' Social Class	Management					Total
	L	B	C	M	G	
Low	40	20	74	39	46	41
Middle	32	29	22	42	34	33
High	28	51	4	18	20	26
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total No.	625	144	75	110	346	
% to Total	48	11	6	9	26	

$$\chi^2 = 99.1 < .002$$

$$df = 8$$

NOTE : L = Lingayat; B = Brahmin; C = Christian; M = Muslim;
G = Government.

An examination of the data in Table-III revealed that a majority of students from Lingayat colleges belonged to low and middle class status (40 and 32 percents, respectively). This showed that Lingayat colleges

catered to the needs of low and middle class students. Similar was the case with students from Christian, Government and Muslim colleges. However, in the Brahmin college, a majority of students were drawn from the upper (51 percent) and middle (29 percent) classes. This was obviously because Brahmins enjoyed a higher class status. It is clear that class status of the respondents varied according to Caste/Community background of management.

Sex Composition

Sex constitutes yet another important dimension of social status. Caste and community values exercise a significant influence on the status of men and women. Literacy and educational levels of a caste/community are intimately related to female education. A higher degree of literacy and education of the males in a community is a pre-condition for female education. For example, scheduled castes are predominantly engaged in agriculture and mostly live in the villages. Male literacy and education, compared to non-scheduled castes, is very low among them. Lingayat and other castes are also engaged in agriculture and business, though they are not poor, and live in villages and towns. Male literacy and education among them is pretty low compared to that of Brahmins. Similar is the case with Muslims. In other words, low and middle castes and Muslims, compared to that of Brahmins, are less likely to encourage their women to join for higher education (for details on educational levels of different castes and communities in Karnataka, see Havnur Report, 1975).

TABLE - IV

Percentage Distribution of Students' Sex by Management

Students' Sex	Management					Total
	L	B	C	M	G	
Male	74	64	95	50	86	75
Female	26	36	5	50	14	25
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

$$x^2 = 74.81 < .001$$

$$df = 4$$

NOTE : L = Lingayat; B = Brahmin; C = Christian; M = Muslim;
G = Government

From Table-IV, it will be seen that males constituted the majority in all colleges. However, the proportion of male students was relatively high in Lingayat, Christian and Government colleges. The higher

proportion of males in Lingayat colleges indicates that Lingayats fostered a positive attitude towards male rather than female education. The Christian colleges had almost cent percent male students. One reason might be that since a majority of the Christians were converts from the lower castes, it was quite possible that more males than females might have shown a sense of readiness for education. In Government colleges only 14 percent of students were females. This might be due to the fact that since a majority of the female students were likely to have come from the middle and higher classes, they might have chosen private colleges as it is often believed that standards of teaching and discipline are better in the former than in the latter.

Data further showed that the proportion of women students was relatively high in Brahmin and Muslim colleges. Traditionally, Brahmins have enjoyed a higher educational status. It should not be surprising if they had a more favourable attitude towards female education. However, a very interesting but important finding of our data was that in Muslim colleges there was an equal representation of either sexes (50 percent each).

Apparently, the high proportion of female students contradicted our assumption that Muslims were less likely to encourage their women for formal education. It was also assumed that Muslim colleges attracted a majority of Muslim students. However, a further probe into data revealed that of the total of 198 Muslim students in the Universe, the Muslim college had 110 or about 55 percent. This meant that 45 percent of Muslim students were distributed in Hindu colleges. A still further probe into the data revealed that of the 55 female students in Muslim colleges, there were only 30 Muslim women i. e., 54 percent. On the other hand, of the 55 male students in Muslim colleges 50 or 90 percent were Muslim students. It is evident that in Muslim colleges the proportion of female Muslim students was far lower, compared to male Muslim students. The high proportion of female students in Muslim colleges showed that there was a considerable proportion of Hindu female students. Thus our assumption still held true and conformed to the conventional notion that Muslim women tended to stay away from education.

To sum up, males constituted the majority in all colleges. However, the proportion of males was, relatively, more in Lingayat, Christian and Government colleges. Although female students were in a minority, relatively a higher proportion of them were found in Brahmin and Muslim colleges. The proportion of women students in Muslim colleges was far higher than it was in other colleges. The proportion of Muslim women

students in Muslim colleges was lower than that of Muslim men. In short, there was a significant relationship between sex composition of students and caste/community of management.

Rural-Urban Background

Rural-urban background forms an important part of one's social background. Castes such as Lingayats, Reddys, Kammas, Vokkaligas, Kurubas and Scheduled Castes, who are predominantly engaged in agriculture, are from rural background. On the other hand, castes such as Brahmins, Weavers, Goldsmiths, Komtis, Banias, and communities such as Christians and Muslims, who are mainly engaged in business and white-collar jobs, are mostly from the urban background. With industrialisation and urbanisation, although a portion of the rural castes have moved over the urban areas, their social and cultural moorings are in the villages. Thus caste/community character of the management is related to students' rural-urban background.

TABLE - V

Percentage Distribution of Students' Rural-Urban Background by Management

Students' R-U Background	Management					Total
	L	B	C	M	G	
Village	26	17	17	5	23	22
Town	17	11	26	5	21	17
City	57	73	57	90	57	61
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

$\chi^2 = 55.1 < .001$

df = 8

NOTE : L = Lingayat; B = Brahmin; C = Christian; M = Muslim; G = Government

It will be seen from Table-V that in all the colleges belonging to different managements, a majority of the students were drawn from the urban background (City). However, an overwhelming majority of the students from Brahmin and Muslim colleges (73 and 90 percents, respectively) were from urban background. It may be said that while a majority of the college students tended to be drawn from urban background, Brahmin and Muslim colleges had more urban students than other colleges. The reason is that both Brahmins and Muslims are predominantly from urban areas. A further analysis of the data showed

that the proportion of rural students in Lingayat and Government colleges was relatively higher than in other colleges. A greater proportion of the rural students from Lingayat colleges supported our assumption that Lingayat colleges attracted more rural students. In the Government colleges, too, the proportion of rural students was relatively high. This finding indicated that Government colleges, compared to Brahmin, Christian and Muslim, reflected a greater degree of rural bias.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to find out whether or not there was any association between the caste/community character of the managements of private colleges vis-a-vis Government colleges and their respective student social background in terms of religion, caste, social class, sex and rural-urban background. To be specific, the paper has tried to answer two questions :

1. Whether or not private colleges continued to represent a sectarian and egalitarian character or are becoming relatively open, and
2. Whether or not Government colleges represented relatively a secular and egalitarian character in terms of their student social background. The findings of the study are as follows :

1) Private Colleges

Data with regard to the private colleges revealed that there was a significant association between caste/community of management and social background of the students. For example, a greater proportion of the Hindu students found clustered in Hindu colleges, while a majority of the Muslim students were found in Muslim colleges. Similarly, a larger proportion of the students belonging to various castes such as Brahmin and Lingayats (and allied castes) registered themselves in their respective caste colleges. Class composition of the colleges revealed that Lingayat, Christian and Muslim colleges had a greater proportion of students from lower and middle classes, whereas Brahmin college had a majority of the students from upper class. Data with regard to the rural-urban background revealed that in general all colleges had a majority of students from urban background. However, Brahmin and Muslim colleges had a greater proportion of students from urban background.

Sex composition of the colleges revealed that while all colleges had a majority of male students, Lingayat and Christian colleges had a greater proportion of males, on the one hand, Brahmin and Muslim colleges had a greater proportion of female students, on the other. By and large, caste / community of management and students' social background were associated with each other.

2) Government Colleges

Social composition of the students in Government colleges revealed that a majority of them were Hindus; belonged to low and middle castes; drawn from the low class and were predominantly males. This meant that the social background of Government colleges' students skewed towards certain sections. Another important finding was that the proportion of scheduled castes students was more in Government than in private colleges. It appears that the sectarian ethos of the colleges managed by caste-Hindus and Muslims might have had an inwardly insulating and outwardly alienating effect on the scheduled castes' students and thereby prevented them from seeking admission in private colleges.

In conclusion, it may be said that private colleges over the years (in Gulbarga city) have not transformed themselves from, relatively, sectarian into more secular (in terms of different caste groups) and egalitarian institutions. This should not mean, however, that Government colleges were secular and egalitarian. They were equally, as the data showed, sectarian and inequalitarian, though not to the same extent as the private colleges were.

It follows that the private colleges in terms of their students' social background were not undergoing a process of "decompression" and becoming more open, democratic and egalitarian. Nor did the Government colleges represent a secular (in terms of diverse caste and religious groups) character. Both private and Government colleges seemed to be fostering narrow and sectarian values. The policy of education in general; and private enterprise in education in particular, does not seem to have succeeded in modernising Indian society. This shows that mere borrowing of colonial and Western institutions, as agents of modernisation, does not accelerate the process of social transformation. Such a strategy might spell more harm than good. What is necessary is not only modernising the Indian tradition but also modernising (adapting) the very modernity (modern education based on science and technology) to suit the needs of the Indian society. Hence, all educational planning in traditional society should take into account its needs and determine its modes of adaptation.

Suggestions :

In order to evolve a new and dynamic concept of private enterprise in education then following suggestions may be offered.

1) Dual system of Education

The policy of dual partnership in the educational enterprise viz., Government and private bodies needs to be re-examined in the context

of changing needs. After 1977 the Government of Karnataka has enforced uniform rules and regulations on both Government and private colleges. With the increased interference of the Government in the affairs of private colleges in matters of appointment of teachers; opening courses etc., there is little difference in the rules and regulations governing the Government and private colleges. The managements have no longer their freedom, independence and autonomy. Thus the difference between Government and private colleges is more nominal than real in the sense, the latter is called so because they are managed by private bodies, and not because the system has its own distinctive advantages in terms of a philosophy, organisation, autonomy, content of courses etc., over Government management. A time has come to think seriously whether the present dual system of education should be retained and continued at all. If the policy makers believe in private enterprise in education, then the whole system of current education needs to be re-organised.

2) Grant-in-Aid

A study of the Grant-in-aid system (in Karnataka) shows that the procedure was borrowed from the British and continued with little modification. However, it is rigid and conservative in its aims and approaches. For example, the procedure is used as an instrument to control the managements and teachers. On the other hand, the procedure does not provide for liberal allocation of funds to equip the libraries with the latest books, journals and furnitures. Paucity of funds is still the basetting curse. In most of the colleges in mofussil areas there are no libraries in the real sense of the term. Similarly, the procedure does not ensure much scope for teachers to improve their qualifications by providing adequate incentives in terms of increments, promotions etc. Thus the mechanism does not act as an agent of modernisation.

3) Bye-laws

At present it appears that there is no clear policy with regard to bye-laws of the managements. For example, in some societies, membership is restricted to some individuals and groups – members of caste and business, while in others membership is open to any one who is ready to pay the fee. However, it should not mean that these managements are really open and democratic. Rich and politically powerful members manipulate and mobilise other members in their favour and get hold of the management. There is a clause in the bye-laws which says that the application of a person for membership should be approved by the Governing body or the General body. They (the vested interests) use this clause to manoeuvre things to their own advantage. In principle,

however, the clause is meant to debar those who are insane and such as enter with a destructive intention. Therefore, it is necessary for the planners to decide who should plan and determine the priorities in education. It is felt here that greater representation be given to teachers, their associations, educationists, social workers, parents etc., instead of throwing open the system to any one who has the capacity to pay a certain amount.

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GARHWALI FAMILY - A MELTING POT OF TRADITION AND MODERNITY : A STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

BIMAL CHAND JAIN

Srinagar, Garhwal (U. P., is in the credle of mountains of the Northern region. Family in Srinagar, Garhwal is a unique phenomenon of tradition and modernity. As a socialising agency it trains up the children, adolescents and youths very strongly in the norms, values, rituals and traditions. But it has imbibed also the progress of modernisation and has integrated it in their family behaviour pattern. Thus the personality turned out by Garhwali family is a unique combination of tradition and modernity. Traditionally Garhwalis are embedded in the grass roots of traditional culture but is also alive to the forces of social change, development and processes of modernization. It is strange to note that the pathologies related with the process of modernization are not significantly observed here.

Socio-Historical Retrospect

The vitality of social structure of Garhwali family comes down from the hoary past. The systemic aspect of social structure of Garhwali family is very much rooted in the economic, social and cultural texture carried through in course of time ranging from the ancient times to the present day. The historicity of Garhwali society oblongs back from epic period in the shape of invasions, cultural diffusion and acculturation. The most important landmarks of the social history are the ascendance and oupramacy of Icchasu, Ailvansh, Kulinda, Pepublics Chandravansh and Gorkhyani. Presently the racial admixture of different tribes have resulted in three main social groupings i. e. Khadwal (Kirats), Khash and Gaddis. The economy of Garhwal from the ancient past till date centred round sheep-rearing, grazing of cattle, Jhum cultivation transhumance with nomadism, seasonal migration, soldiery and agriculture. But the inhabitants of Garhwal have been mobile and accepted the challenges of life in a dynamic way. Religiously and spiritually they are tied with traditionalism but this does not constraint them to be mobile and accommodate the forces of social change and modernisation. Major social institutions, developed under the imperatives of Economy and

cultural processes are casteless society but for social and functional convenience they have stratified into Brahmins and Bhats. Womenfolk are comparatively more free and dominantly share in domestic affairs, economy and agriculture. Essentially the principles and practices of Matriarchy and matrilineality in its hoary past and later on it converted into patriarchy and patrilineage. However presently it contains the elements of both systems. Garhwali social life is full of dynamism and mobility. Of course tied with a geographical fixity. Yet it possesses a remarkable capacity of absorption, assimilation and the application of new cultural, technological and modern trends of life.

Problem

The problem of the present study is to explore the structural functional aspects of the Garhwali family in the processes of accommodation and integration of the processes of modernization in the traditional milieu of Garhwali society at best in the family.

Object

The object of the study is to gain insight into the structural-functional aspects of the Garhwali family in tradition and modernity.

Methodology

The tools adopted for the collection of data are Quasi-Participant Observation, Interview Schedule and Interviews. The data collected has been put to simple statistical treatment. Besides this Secondary sources of data have also been tapped to have perspective of continuity and change.

Universe

The Universe of study is confined to Srinagar only whose population and area are 9505 (Male 5855, Female 3350) and 7.8 Km. respectively. Random Sample of 100 families has been drawn out representing the different social, economic, cultural categories. The sample represents a Micro picture of Garhwali society with special focus on family organisation.

The structural functional analysis has been opted for it the indepth study of Garhwali family.

Conceptual Framework

Fortess (1949)¹ sees social structure as a term applying to any ordered

1. Fortess (Ed) : 'Social Structure' (1949)

arrangement of distinguishable wholes i. e. institution, group situation, process, social position.

E. R. Leack (1954)² focusses the concept on the set of ideas about the distribution of power between person and group.

Raymond Firth³ (1956–1959) distinguished between social organisation and social structure. He treats both concepts as heuristic devices and describes social organisation as concerned with the choices and decisions involved in actual social relations while social structure refers to the more fundamental social relations which gave a society its basic form and which sets limits to the courses of action organisationally possible.

British social anthropologist in the writings of A. R. Redcliff⁴ Brown has centred upon the discussion of social structure in terms of culture from that in terms of social relations. Secondly, there was an effort to isolate from the content of social relations, some formal underlying (structural) principles. Thirdly, it was to be distinguished from the term of social function that is the forms from the effects of social relations. B. Malinowski⁵ (1961) adopted a very generalised view of culture including with in this the concept, material culture, values and norms together with actual behaviour. Redcliff Brown⁶ differentiates the culture of a society from its social system and social structure (1957). He sees the culture of a society as its standardised mode of behaviour, thinking and feeling while the social structure consists of a sum total of all the social relationships of all individuals at a given moment in time. Seen thus social structure is the nonprocessual aspect of the social system. It constitutes the static state of the social system, the system at any one point in time. Brown insists that culture can be studied scientifically via social structure i. e. when cultural modes are conceptually recast as social relations, then a science of social system and social structures becomes possible, but a science of culture as such is not possible. Modern social anthropologists such as Fortess⁷, Evan Pritchard⁸, Firth⁹ and S. F.

2. E. R. Leack : 'Political System of High Land Burma' (1954)

3. Raymond Firth : 'Elements of Social Organisation & Social Change in Tikopia' (1956)

4. A. R. Redcliff Brown : 'A Natural Science of Society' (1957)

5. B. Malinowski : 'A Scientific Theory of Culture' (1961)

6. A. R. Redcliff Brown : 'Structure & Function in Primitive Society' (1952)

7. Fortess (Ed) 'Social Structure' (1949)

8. E. E. Evans Pritchard : 'Elements of Social Organisation' (1951)

9. Raynond Firth : 'Elements of Social Organisation & Social Change in Tikopia' (1959)

Nadel¹⁰ used the term social structure essentially in this sense to identify the structural principles underlying any body of social relations. What is really important, however, is not merely determination of the parts, their interrelations but elucidations of the principles which govern the structural arrangement and the forces for which these stand.

In distinguishing the concept for social functions R. Brown¹¹ moves from structure viewed from the stand-point of the total society, the social structure, to the notion of sub-structure or particular set of social relations so that a social structure is set to have a function if it contributes to the maintenance of the structural continuity of the total system.

In the field of sociology the phrase social structure is used to mean simply a social regularity, to indicate that the behaviour is repetitive and non-random. In this sense social structure and social system are contrasted with the notion of aggregate. T. Parsons¹² (1951), R. K. Merton¹³ (1961), H. M. Johnson¹⁴ (1962) have typically viewed social structure as inter relations of social positions and roles. Interaction within the social system is conceptualised more specifically in terms of actors, occupying position or statuses in which they play roles vis-a-vis other positions. In Parsons' discussion social system is a wider concept than social structure and includes the functional aspect system, the positive and negative consequences of sub-structure for the total system, in addition to its structural aspect. R. K. Merton has utilised the concept particularly in his discussion of deviancy arising from anomic or normlessness. Anomic is seen as the resultant of hiatus between culture, and the social structure (goals).

Function & Functionalism

The principal features of structural-functionalism are as follows : (a) the delineation of boundaries between social and other relevant systems, notably the cultural, personality and biological systems (b) An abstract and transhistorical delineation of the major structural units of the social system, and a heavy emphasis upon the normative relationships between the units (c) An overriding concern with the conditions of stability, integration and maximum effectiveness of the system as abstractly depicted. The functional orientation runs through all the characteristics,

10. S. F. Nadel : 'The Theory of Social Structure' (1957)

11. A. R. Redcliff Brown : 'Structure & Function in Primitive Society.' (1952)

12. T. Parsons : 'The Social System' (Ind. Ed.) (1972)

13. Robert K. Merton : 'Social Theory & Social Structure' (Indian Ed. 1968 Enlarged) (1961)

14. H. M. Johnson : 'Sociology' Bross & World Hocart (1960)

one of the most influential aspects of being the idea of Functional Imperatives. Deriving in parts from experiments on small groups, the term refers to the four basic problems which all social systems face and which must be adequately coped with if the system is to be adequately maintained. The four functional imperatives are adoption to the other systems and the physical environment, the attainment of systematic goals, integration; and the maintenance of stability and consistency.

The above discussed clarification of the concepts of Structure And Function and functionalism provides us the basic premises for our present study.

(1) By the term Structure we shall deem the sum total of social relationships of all individuals of family at a given moment in time.

(2) A social structure is said to have a function if it contributes to the maintenance of structural continuity of the total system.

(3) It is typically viewed as the interrelation of social position and roles.

(4) Social Structure refers to the social relations which give a society its basic form and which sets limits to the courses of action organisationally possible.

Regarding function we are concerned with the objective consequences of the activities which contribute to the maintenance and stability of the structural pattern of the system (R. K. Merton).

Modern and Modernisation

Modernity refers to the style of life and ways of thinking and behaving in daily situations of life at individual and group level. This also includes a secular outlook with a sense of high rationality. At the material level of living it refers to the usage of modern sophisticated gadgets, ease from drudgery and manual labour. The process of modernization is a wider term which refers as a force of social change that alters the characteristics of tradition and ruralism to urbanity.

The fusion of tradition and modernity has been discussed by many noted scholars of Industrial Sociology viz. H. C. Ganguli¹⁵ (1954) A. K.

15. H. C. Ganguli: 'An Enquiry into Incentive to Workers in an Engineering Factory' I. J. S. Works Bombay. (June 1954)

Rice¹⁶ (1958) Mayers Charles A.¹⁷ (1960) Lamert R. D.¹⁸ (1963), Srinivasan K.¹⁹ (1964) Vaid K. N. (1968)²⁰.

Modernisation implies industrialization which requires a new mentality and this new mentality cannot be anything but synthesis of the old and new; tradition and modernity. A Garhwali family presents a synthesis of tradition and modernity. This integration of tradition and modernity in Garhwali family is under exploration through structural and functional analysis.

III

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data collected on Garhwali families has been tabulated under the following heads :

- (a) Family structure.
- (b) Functions of family – Tradition and Modern.
- (c) Marriage – Tradition and Modern Outlook.
- (d) Migration – Forces and Consequences.
- (e) Infra-Structure – Road, Communication and Educational Achievement.
- (f) Religion and Ancestor Worship.
- (g) Occupations – Tradition and Modern.
- (h) Income and Expenditure Pattern.

The family structure of Garhwali family is largely composite of Joint families and a few percentage of families are Nuclear. This is evidenced in the following table depicting type and size of the family.

TABLE — I
Family Structure

Sl.No.	Type of Family		Percentage
1.	Joint Family	94	94%
2.	Nuclear	6	6%
N = 100			

16. A. K. Rice : 'Productivity & Social Organisation.' The Ahmedabad Tavistock (1958) London.
17. Myers Charles A. : 'Industrial Relations in India.' Asia Publishing House, Bombay (1960).
18. Lambert R. D. : 'Workers, Factories and Social Change in India', Asia Publishing House, Bombay (1963).
19. Srinivasan K. : 'Productivity & Social Environment,' Asia Publishing House, Bombay (1963).
20. Vaid K. N. : 'The New Worker.' Asia Publishing House, Bombay (1968).

The average size of the family is 7.01. The highest number of family members was found to be 12 and the lowest number is 3. It was observed in course of interview that the female members wishes to separate from the joint family establish the nuclear family. The reasons assigned by them were opportunities for the development of the personality, proper care of the children and elimination of drudgery of the domestic chores. When they were asked as to how they got these ideas they replied that their husbands working outside Garhwal in the plains in India and abroad but they stay in the Joint families due to economic reasons. This points out that the Joint Family may become affected as the ideas of modern life mature and are fully internalized by the family members. But they still feel rooted in the Joint Family frame. Male members of Garhwal do not want to undermine their authority and control by breaking up the joint family system. Because they feel that woman is viable economic unit and she should not be allowed to be free economically and socially both. It is the women folk in general who are brewing for revolt.

It has been observed that a woman in a Garhwal house works day and night in the summers as well as in the winters. Women folk pick up stones and break the Clods of earth. They manure the land and sow the seeds and level it. They sow certain crops and vegetables. They look after the cattle. They assist members of the family heavily in rice cultivation. No household work is done by men folk. At the most men folk either get job some where or start a small shop or spin and weave or go to water mill or for some other family business here and there. Men folk had to plough the land because ploughing it a taboo for women. Men folk has nothing to do in the house and little in the field. They idle away most of their time in gossip, smoking and sleeping. There is a great disparity in the proportion of work of the two sexes. Family in Garhwal is a Functionary co-operative Society / Corporation where all the members pursue some occupations, live, produce and consume.

The Garhwalis are traditional in agricultural practices but they are open to the innovative methods in horticulture and agriculture. They pick up the utility of new agricultural implements for raising their crops. The use of fertilizers, improved seeds and pesticides is also practised by them in agricultural operations. Hence modernity and modern appliances seek their way to their occupation and vocations. In course of field work the investigator was told that if the financial assistance and agriculture know-how is imported to them they can make miracles in occupations. Thus tradition and modernity have queer blend in Garhwali occupational life.

The Garhwalis are endogamous in relation to their castes and sub-castes but they are exogamous in relation to Gotra. Generally marriages among the near relatives and especially those who are kith and kin for three generations is prohibited – though there are exceptions of cross cousin marriage in the third generation.

With a few exceptions here and there monogamy is universally practised in Garhwal. Polygamy is permissible if the wife proves biologically barren and fails to bear even a single child for him for ten to twelve years. Widows are not allowed to remarry. Child marriage is very popular. The marriage age of female is between 12 and 21 years and that of male between 16 and 40 years. Bride Price running between Rs. 3000 to 5000 is paid by the bridegroom and his parents to the bride and her parents. The rising price of bride in Garhwal society reflects two phenomenon firstly, the sex ratio in which the females are declining. Secondly the price rise of the bride is due to the increasing capacity to pay by the men as they get enough money working outside Garhwal or abroad. This is a consequence of modernisation which pays dividend to those who take risk and migrate to earn more money. The affluence force in from modernised world to the remote hilly parts of Garhwal.

Migration is an important factor for ushering the process of modernisation in a Garhwali family and society at large. It has notable feed back effects on the place of origin as the migrants maintain different kinds and degrees of contact (M.S.A. Rao 1981).²¹ Rao further explains the feed back effects of internal migration (in this case, the Garhwalis migrate). Migrants here maintain more close and frequent contacts with their place of origin through remitting money to home, visits, property and political, social and cultural relations. Besides these feed back effects on the standard of living of members of the family at the place of origin. There is the problem of the demographic imbalance, economic and political consequences. P. S. Rawat²² has shown that a female live in the village of Garhwal, as most of the adult and able males have emigrated leaving behind their wives, children and old parents. I. P. Desai²³ (1964) describes the patterns of emigration in a South Gujrat village. He has shown that the result of out migration of both the upper and lower castes in tradi-

21. M. S. A. Rao : 'Some Aspects of Sociology of Migration, Sociological Bulletin' Vol. XXX, No. 1, (1981).

22. P. S. Rawat : 'Development & Migration From Garhwal' Paper Presented in XV I. S. Society Conference (1979)

23. I. P. Desai : 'The Patterns of Migration And Occupations In a South Gujrat Village' Poona Deccan College, Poona. (1964)

tional power structure remained without significant changes. The anavils who were economically and politically dominant had lost their position.

The movement of individual and groups from one territory to other refers to their conception of space and time. People attach meaning to the places where they move. In this process a set of symbols of rootedness and mobility is developed. M. S. A. Rao²⁴ (1977-79) made an exposition of 'Kamma Peasants'. To them territoriality becomes an ethnophenomenon. How they overcome it? Their logic is really very strange. Kammass value the set of symbols associated with mobility more than that associated with rootedness. They say that a tree strikes root and is fixed but the seed are free to fly and propagate. The blood sticks but semen spreads and reproduces. While blood ties encourage rootedness to property through inheritance, the affinal relations sponsor mobility. Future attracts more than the past. Acquired land is prestigious than the ancestral land. The place of origin gives bondage but migration is freedom and tests the metal of man. Spirit of adventure and risk are desirable than inherits and conservation. This set of symbols promotes spatial mobility. Sociologically we can say that migration is structural transformation of symbols of rootedness into symbols of mobility.

TABLE — II
Migration Pattern of Garhwal

1. Long Term Migration—	
(a) Military Services	30
(b) Professional	5
2. Seasonal Migration—	
(a) As casual labour	40
(b) Domestic Servants	25

Table No. 2 shows the following trends of migration :

Military services and other professional and technical jobs attract Garhwalis for a long term migration to plains and abroad. Because of robust physique Garhwalis get services in the army easily.

The poorer and uneducated section of Garhwali family come down to plains during winters to do casual labour and domestic services.

24. M. S. A. Rao : 'Migration of Peasants And Labourers In Andhra Pradesh & Karnataka' U. G. C. National Fellowship. (1977-79)

In course of interview the respondents informed that the increasing population and decreasing land and other resources and opportunities of employment force the migration of Garhwali to the plains. The plains seemingly offer them a new and comfortable life with prospectus of prosperity and progress.

This migration feeds back to the place of origin, new outlook of life, money for improvement of life and the ideas of modernity and modernisation also creep in through the migrants. The tradition bound family of Garhwal assimilates and integrates the processes of modernisation to have an accelerated development and improvement in the standard of living.

The religion practised by Garhwali family is liberal that it permits all the innovations and processes of modernisation which can ease their poverty, sustain them into integrated and cohesive group and make life progressive and happy. Religion nowhere recommends them to alienate themselves from new ideas, gadgets and ways of life. In turn it insists in them a sense of bravery and manliness to face the hazards and risks outside Garhwal and earns laurels for them. Thus the Garhwalis practice religion in all its simplicity and openness for their dynamic and integrated life. This is supplemented by culture contacts which Garhwalis have in their migrant life.

Total income of all the families from all sources comes to Rs. 16,860-00. Average income per family comes to Rs. 168.60.

TABLE — III
Showing Occupation & Income Pattern

Occupation	Frequency	Income	Other members Income	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Agriculture	89	11,290-00	3,100-00	14,390-00
2. Horticulture	2	200-00	210-00	410-00
3. Service	4	320-00	65-00	385-00
4. Crafts	2	120-00	75-00	195-00
5. Grazing	2	60-00	20-00	80-00
6. Business	1	250-00	150-00	450-00
	100	12,240-00	4,620-00	16,860-00

There is a great disparity in the family income of the Garhwali. The highest income is Rs. 550-00 and the lowest being Rs. 120-00.

TABLE — IV

Showing Expenditure Pattern

Food	Clothing	Education	Light
Rs. 1,200/-	Rs. 200/-	Rs. 90/-	Rs. 40/-
Sickness	Ceremonies	Intoxicants	Miscellaneous
Rs. 30-00	Rs. 450/-	Rs. 250/-	Rs. 150/-

The expenditure pattern of Garhwali family indicates a tilt towards education and clothing. These items are influenced by the processes of modern life and prestigious living. Expenditure on social and religious ceremonies also reflect the spirit of pomp and show which is again a symbol of modern life. Rishikesh¹⁶ (Garhwal) is the supply centre for consumption of tincture, spirit, alcohols and intoxicants and women for illicit trade. In course of interview the respondents expressed that good education and new clothes, pomp and show on social functions add to their prestige in society. In order to meet the growing demands of the processes of modernisation, having insufficient income, they recourse to loan from the local money lenders at an exorbitant rate of interest. The mode of payment of loan and interest are on the basis either monthly, half yearly or at harvest. Hence the processes of modernisation have crept in and integrated into family life.

Conclusions & Suggestions :

The above said study of the Garhwali family has presented a unique phenomenon of assimilation and integration of the processes of modernisation in the traditional social cultural life of Garhwali family. The process of modernisation have crept into Garhwali society largely through migration. It has covered religious social, economic and cultural realms of life. The tolerance of other culture and retaining the originality of the traditional culture is a singular phenomenon of the Garhwali family. Thus tradition and modernity have been integrated and arranged in a mosaic which gives a coherence and meaning to Garhwali family.

I order to make Garhwali family sharing the mainstream of Indian Life some sort of social Planning measures are suggested :

- 1) A net work of more roads, link roads should be made in order to have easy access to the plains and hill.

25. Gulab Shanker Lal : 'Crime Geography' (Unpublished Thesis, Garhwal University, (Srinagar-Garhwal) (1984)

2) Transportation and communication facilities should be further improved to facilitate cultural contacts and cultural influx.

3) Though Garhwal University has been established at Srinagar yet a net work of educational centres specially technological and professional should be set up in order to educate Garhwali children for a better and reasonable modern life.

4) Medical services and facilities should be extended to the remote parts of Garhwal to prevent the high mortality rates.

5) Horticulture training centres should be raised in this area to educate the people for raising the new and modern orchards.

6) New centres of industries based on raw material available here should be established to impart the technical know how of cottage and Small Scale Industries which would turn in raising the standard of living and income of Garhwali.

7) Co-operative Societies should be established to advance them loan and financial assistance for productive and industrial purposes on easy rate of interest and payment of loans on instalment basis.

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THE SECULAR STATE AND THE SECULAR SOCIETY*

L. C. MULLATTI

I

It is common knowledge that the term 'secularism' has been used in a confusing variety of senses even in modern times.¹ If a serious discourse like this is to yield any fruitful results, it is essential, I think, to demarcate its connotation as precisely as possible. One of the most common things that is said about secularism is that it signifies a wall of separation between state and religion; that we should render unto Caesar things that are Caesar's and unto God things that are God's. Among the famous personalities who have enunciated this view are Madison, Jefferson, Lincoln and Holyoake. But as to how exactly this epigram is to be interpreted, there is a wide range of opinions.

M. N. Roy, the radical humanist, understands the separation only in the sense that the state should represent "a theory of life and conduct which not only excluded religion from human life, but would regard it as Man's moral duty to fight against religion". Secularism in this sense offers a world-view based on science and technology which firmly believes that Man's happiness and salvation lies in this very world, not in a transcendent world of spirit. Modernity and anti-religious stance are thus its essential features. It is also generally held here in India that USSR is a secular state. While its constitution separates state and religion, it also offers to its citizens freedom of conscience and freedom of worship (and also of anti-religious propaganda). It would, thus, appear that this view of secularism is different from Roy's. However, the communist state is controlled by the communist party and the latter's declared stand is that religion is an instrument of exploitation, that it is the opium of the masses. These considerations should, I think, make it clear that not much validity can attach to the USSR constitution's claim to guarantee

* Read at the UGC Seminar on "Secularism and the Multireligious Indian Society" held at R. D. University, Jabalpur, October 2-5, 1983.

1. In ancient times the term 'secular' was used in senses altogether unrelated to its present-day connotation. For instance, the ancient theocratic state of Israel, and the pre-Christian Roman Empire where the king was also the highest priest were described as secular. See Veda Prakash Luthera, *The Concept of the Secular State and India* (Calcutta, Oxford University Press, 1964) pp. 3, 154 for some of the ancient and modern senses of the term.

freedom of conscience and worship. Further the stark materialism of the communist ideology leaves no room for the realm of the spirit which is also, as usually believed, the realm of religion. Thus Soviet secularism, like Roy's, is such only because it is anti-religious, constitutional claims notwithstanding. One might even say that in these two cases in so far as the state takes a hostile attitude towards religion, there is really no sundering of the two, despite professions to the contrary.

We have, on the other hand, the American (USA) model, where, unlike in the USSR, practice generally matches profession. At least that is the claim made by many. Matters religious are just outside the scope of the state policy, and the state refuses to transgress its limits and interfere in religious matters. As things stand, perhaps this claim can be conceded. The various religious denominations in USA are organised religions, having their own internal structure for administration and doctrinal interpretation. They thus have a machinery for settling their disputes, and they leave little scope for the state's intervention. One may also say that the followers of the various religious denominations are relatively enlightened, allowing little room for inter-religious or intrareligious conflicts.

Some (like Luther^a) have claimed that the mutual exclusion of state and religion is the sole constituent of the concept of state secularism, that it is its be-all and end-all. Such a concept necessarily entails passivity on the part of the state in matters religious. By this rigid standard, only USA among the comity of nations, can be described as secular. Now the question immediately arises: Granted that in USA the relations amongst the different religious faiths are at present harmonious enough not to cause worries to the state, surely the situation may change, as it has even in some advanced countries, and religious tension may assume alarming proportions. It may disrupt public order, health and morality, in short, public welfare. Would the state in such a situation stand by and watch passively the depredations of an aggressive faith against others? One would think, not. When we talk of the secular state, what we have in mind, I think, is an ideology, not merely an empirical description of realities. It is a question of how we *envisage* the state's role *vis-a-vis* religion, and what justification in terms of our value-structure we offer for the role we envisage. The role envisaged for the state in the doctrine of separation of state and religion is not, to my mind, merely negative; it has a purpose behind, a justification beyond, it which makes it positive. Insistence on separation for its own sake without regard to what contribution it can

2. Luther *ibid.*

make to Man's moral and cultural evolution would be not only pointless, but also scandalous. We must therefore offer a conceptual framework in which the *raison d'être* of the state's role and functioning is at least built in, if not spelt out. In requiring that the state's relationship to religion be conceived in the context of an ideology, I am not suggesting that one can indulge in utopian adventurism and produce theoretical models which have no relation to the human situation. After all, the ultimate components of a state are human beings, and an ideology seeks to *regulate* their conduct. It cannot hope to achieve this task if it does not pay adequate attention to the relevant facts, whether past or present. In seeking to project the concept of a secular state, we are looking for an ideological framework, which synchronises fact and value in a harmonious whole. I think we have in D. E. Smith³ an attempt towards this end which is plausible enough to provide at least a first base for our discussion.

For Smith the concept of state secularism has, besides separation of state and church, two more components, viz, religious freedom and citizenship. Together they present a picture of the relationship that ought to exist, whether or not it actually exists, between the state and religion, and thereby between the state and the individual and between religion and the individual. The separation of state and religion, in being accompanied by freedom of worship and conscience both at the individual and the corporate level, finds its principal justification in the latter. The requirement of citizenship indicates that the concept of the secular state is essentially and inextricably linked with the liberal democratic tradition. Religion is excluded from the state's jurisdiction so that the state should discharge its basic (civic) obligations to the citizen, the better. It must protect the citizen's democratic rights and enforce his legal duties. The state would be neutral to religion, allowing matters of the spirit to the individual and corporate initiative, since that is the best way for spiritual growth. It would step in only when religious matters come in conflict with its civic and civil responsibilities such as public order, public morality and health.

The three components, just enumerated, of the concept of the secular state, it must be noted, though individually necessary, are only jointly sufficient. As is often pointed out, even though U. K. exhibits a high degree of religious freedom, it cannot be considered secular because (monarchy apart), there is no separation of state and church : it recognises a state religion and accords a privileged position to it. Similarly,

3. Smith, Donald Eugene : *India as a Secular State* Princeton : Princeton University Press. (Also London and Bombay : Oxford University Press), 1963. See esp pp. 3-8.

Communist countries cannot be considered secular because, even if it is conceded (which it is not easy to do) that they separate state and religion, there is no linkage between such separation and liberal democratic notion of citizenship.

As remarked above, the secular state as conceived in this way is primarily intended as a norm, albeit a norm formulated in cognisance of the prevailing circumstances. And like all norms, it is rarely achieved in its fulness. What we do find in actual practice is varying degrees of approximation to the norm, and in some cases the gap between the ideal and the actual may indeed be large. This point must be kept in mind in evaluating whether or not a particular state is secular. Even though the primary guide in such evaluation is the country's constitution, the extent of deviation from the ideal it embodies would also be relevant. Sometimes the constitution itself may not provide a very coherent picture. It may contain conflicting provisions for various reasons. Populist pressures and considerations of expediency of those that wield power may result in subsequent insertions of provisions in what was otherwise a perfectly coherent model, the one, for instance, initially offered by the constitution framers. Perhaps with a view to accounting for what I have just described as the gap between the ideal and the actual, Ashis Nandy⁴ argues that we should speak of different kinds of secularism instead of just one unitary kind and that we could even talk of secular secularism and nonsecular secularism. This immediately reminds one of Wittgenstein's anti-essentialism and of his insistence on the need to consider different language-games. This is no place for going into intricacies like these, but as A. B. Shah has caustically pointed out⁵, such talk is bound to lead to intellectual and ideological chaos. In Shah's own words, "But apparently in the house of Nandy's God there are many mansions, and one of them is assigned to the law of the unity of opposites".

How far, if at all, is the concepts of state secularism applicable to the Indian State? We have to examine this questions at two levels—the level of the Indian constitution and the level of actualities. The original constitution-makers, without any doubt, intended the Indian State as a secular state. By and large the Indian constitution as originally framed did satisfy the three criteria laid down by Smith. Of course,

4. See Ashis Nandy's three articles on Secularism in the *Times of India* (Bombay) 20–22, January, 1981.

5. See A. B. Shah's Editorial, "What is Secularism?" in *New Quest*, January–February, 1981, pp. 3–4.

people like Justice Gajendragadkar⁶ say that the Indian constitution does not seek to create a rigid wall of separation between the state and religion as in the west; rather it tries to establish a rational synthesis between the legitimate functions of both. However, the articles (27, 28 and 290 (A)) cited in favour of this claim do not, I think, bear it out. All that is emphasised in these and other relevant articles is religious neutrality, equality before law and equality of opportunity irrespective of one's religion. Religious neutrality is so interpreted as to entail respect for all faiths.

However, there have been many subsequent accretions to the constitution and even some of the original provisions themselves which allow for discrimination on the ground of religion under certain specified circumstances. There is constitutional provision for privileged treatment of the followers of certain faiths. Muslims are exempted from the requirement of monogamy and family-planning. Sikhs are allowed to carry kirpans as part of their normal attire. Seats are reserved in educational institutions for certain faiths to the detriment of others. Initial employment and subsequent promotion in one's career are accorded on an priority basis on grounds of religion to the great disadvantage of merited aspirants. There has been 'reverse discrimination' on a noticeably large scale. Taking their clue from such provisions in the constitution, the state governments have pushed the matter further and enacted laws according privileged status under the garb of protective discrimination to far more sections of the civil society than envisaged by the founding fathers of the constitution. In Karnataka about 70% of all seats in higher educational institutions and of all governmental employment opportunities are reserved on grounds of caste and religion, and the extent of reservation varies only slightly in other states. This tends to make a mockery of the constitution's slogan of equality of opportunity and of the principle of natural justice, and there has already been widespread discontent against this phenomenon. The situation reached flash-points in Bihar and Gujarat a couple of years ago and there were violent statewide anti-reservation agitations. There is a real danger of such agitations spreading to other states as well. The constitution-makers had envisaged a limited amount of protective discrimination in very deserving cases; they had also envisaged an end to it after a certain stipulated period. That period has already lapsed and protective discrimination on religious and other grounds is given another lease of life on a much larger scale. One can only keep hoping against hope that it

6. Gajendragadkar, P. B. : *Secularism and Constitution of India*, Bombay : University of Bombay 1971. See also for a review of this book, *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, 17, 1 (January/March, 1975) 14-51.

will someday come to an end. For, its consequences on the nation's proficiency in all spheres of activity are in the long run indeed disastrous.

It can thus be seen that the Indian constitution has itself been the source of pulls and counterpulls even on a theoretical level. As for the actualities, they can only be worse. For many things are done by the different organs of the state in the name of the law, but really without the sanction of the law. There are instances galore of citizens' rights which a secular state seeks to guarantee being trampled under foot by the guardians of law themselves. Suffice it to mention here what has happened, and perhaps continues to happen, in Bihar jails and the Tihar jail (and outside).

There are then many things both in theory and in practice which are contrary to our claim to be a secular state. But are they enough, in strength and in number, to negative that claim altogether? There is no doubt that despite discordant developments, the dominant note of our constitution continues to remain secular. Protective discrimination to remove social and religious (and economic) disabilities historically inflicted on certain sections of the population is not in itself anti-secular. It may be recalled that even in USA in the famous Bakke case of recent times (involving the admission of Negroes to the Harvard Medical School to the detriment of merited whites), the supreme court's verdict was in favour of protective discrimination. The question is one of the scale on which such discrimination is permitted and practiced, and whether the scale has transgressed the limits of natural justice. Even more important, the question is whether if the scale has transgressed the limits of natural justice, the constitution and the state machinery still hold the potential to reverse the trend. While I am inclined to think that the quantum of protective discrimination, and the state's disregard of citizenship rights, have crossed legitimate limits, I am optimistic that as a nation we can rise to the occasion and reverse the trend. It will of course not be easy to resist populist pressures from vested interests, but I think we can do it. We have done similar things in the past. In times of national crises we have risen as one man and met the challenge. The most recent example of this is the manner in which we did the incredible—voted the Janata party into power in 1977 by defeating one after another apparently invincible Congress giant.

II

Those who talk about Indian secularism usually do not distinguish between secularism as applied to the state and secularism as applied to society in general, i. e., between the secular state and the secular society. But it is important to do so. For, what applies to the one, need not apply

to the other. M. C. Chagla⁷ surely has a secular society in mind when he says "Secularism is an attitude of the mind and quality of the heart. It is a matter of temperament, of outlook, even of feeling. A man with a secular out-look looks upon all persons as human beings, pure and simple, equally estimable... not only in the eye of the law but in the eye of God". These lines hardly apply to the secular state. The focus of the present seminar, as the title itself indicates, is on the concept of a secular society. And the title is significant. It raises the question: Can a multi-religious society (as against a state), like the one in India, be secular? If the term 'secularism' is understood, as it is when applied to a state, as signifying (partly) religious neutrality such a question would translate into a self-contradiction: "Can a multi-religious society be religiously neutral?" Yet, I should think, it is not intended as such, whether or not the answer turns out to be affirmative. That is, we are not here to decide the issue analytically or a priori. We need to go into grounds that go beyond semantics.

State secularism is necessarily a corporate concept (i.e. a concept applying to a corporate entity). But when the concept of secularism is considered in relation to a society, it is applicable to individuals and groups of individuals. Both these usually profess some faith or other. Secularism therefore cannot demand of them that they cease to profess their faith. It concedes that religion represents one important quest for significance in man's life. What it does demand is a separation of roles. The role of the individual as a member of a religious faith should be scrupulously kept apart from his role as a citizen i.e. as a member of the civil society. The danger to human civilization is in direct proportion to the extent to which these two roles overlap. It follows that where they are coextensive, as in some Muslim countries at present, the danger is the greatest. The ideal situation would be one where they are mutually exclusive. The rationale of such a bifurcation of roles is that it enables us to recognise and respect citizenship rights of others, whether these are legal or otherwise. These are also the rights to which I am myself entitled as a citizen. Each individual or association of individuals can thus keep its religion private to itself, and yet be in healthy and mutually beneficial intercourse with other members of the civil society with benefit to all and the society as a whole.

This then is the concept of a secular society. Is the Indian society so rich in religious diversity secular? There can be no two levels in

7. Chagla, M. C. : *Roses in December* Bombay Bidaya Bhavan 1973. p. 83.

answering this question, theoretical and practical, for there can be no written theoretical document to govern a secular society and its members. The question has to be assessed only in the light of the prevailing realities weighed against the broad ideal represented by the concept itself.

If we survey the Indian scene, we find that it is rather unnerving. We realize how true is the Marxist stand that religion is an instrument of exploitation. We find that religion is being misused all the time in our society. Elections to offices within and outside the state structure are fought on communal grounds. Communal pressure is applied, often successfully, to the state for gaining privileges for particular groups. Religious considerations are used to arouse passion and hatred against other religious groups, often resulting in widespread violence. This phenomenon manifested itself in its worst form during our partition days and continues to cause serious anxiety to all right-minded persons. Passion thus aroused may be directed to prolonged and systematic persecution, even elimination, of the followers of other faiths. This may be done either out of rivalry or out of a conviction that the persecuted faiths are inferior. Conmen, Gurus and Godmen continuously victimise innocent and ignorant masses for their own selfish ends - money, sex or power. Some religious groups push out other groups by force to usurp the latter's legitimate benefits (e.g. Sikhs Vs Nirankaris). In a society which has traditionally harboured, and continues to harbour, a diversity of faiths, the evils of inter-religious conflict are multiplied many times over.

If religion interferes to such an alarming extent in our civic rights and responsibilities one might well wonder how the Indian society's claim to secularity can be sustained. However, we need to look beyond our own society to other societies in settling this issue. And if we do so, we find some consolation. It would not come as a surprise to us if backward countries exhibit a high degree of religious intolerance and misuse of religion. We have heard of tribal warfare in African countries (e.g. the erstwhile Congo) even in recent times, leading to genocide. Such warfare has not infrequently stemmed from conflict of tribal religion. Since in such societies the concept of secularism is yet to evolve, they are not relevant to our purpose. But even if we consider societies of other developing countries, which match our own in terms of modernity, we find that things are hardly better. In Philippines, there has been a prolonged and intense conflict between Muslims and Christians. In Pakistan the clash between Sunnis and Shias and that between Sunnis and Ahmediyas is well-known. In Iran, Bahais are being systematically persecuted by the Shias. In Lebanon, we witness the violent strife between the Druse and the Christians. Even advanced countries are no exception to this plague.

Germany during the second world war period provided history's worst evidence of religious persecution. A whole race was sought to be eliminated out of religious hatred ('the final solution' 'the holocaust'). A veritable war is going on in Northern Ireland for some years now between the Catholics and the British Government which is mostly manned by Protestants. The Catholics have even an army (the IRA) for wreaking violence, And at least some of these societies lay claim to secularism.

The point of all this is that dark as the Indian situation is, we need not give up hope altogether. But how can we go about salvaging the gloomy situation? When so many other societies seem to have failed how can we succeed? Society suffers from an inherent handicap: it does not have an established permanent machinery through which it can direct its effort towards the secular goal. Any initiative must come from an individual or a voluntary association of individuals, and since these normally have their own religious affiliations, their motives will be suspect in the eyes of the other sections of society having different religious loyalties. True, once in a while a society may chance to have among its members an outstanding personality, a Gandhi for instance, who wields such absolute moral prowess that he transcends all sectarian suspicions. Such a one channelises the energies of all mutually hostile religious groups, towards a single focus and progresses towards the chosen objective at a relatively rapid pace. But this is a matter of a society's good fortune, rather than advance planning. A society must plan for its secular amelioration without relying on such a windfall; it must find ways of moving ahead even in a mediocre environment and insure itself against set-backs. And this is applicable to the Indian society of today as well. Since the Gandhian miracle is no more available, we must look for succour elsewhere. And here we have powerful advantage which other societies afflicted with similar ailments lack. We have a secular state. A secular state must of course, maintain religious neutrality in state policy. But it has also the responsibility of protecting a citizen's legitimate rights. When religious interests of different groups clash, a flagrant infringement of citizenship rights is invariably involved. And the state must step in to punish the erring party. There is general agreement, I think, that our state has failed in this responsibility to a large extent. Often times appropriate action is not taken against parties because men in political power are amenable to pressure from religious groups and are afraid of consequences. But the state has supreme power and can discipline any section of the society however large or powerful it may be. In our present situation, the first step that we as responsible members of the Indian society need to take, if we are serious about removing the ever-spreading threats

to secularism, is to galvanise our state into taking its secular responsibilities seriously. It need hardly be said that the failures of a secular state are carried over into the failures of the secular society. If we ensure that the state is alert to its secular obligations including enforcement of citizenship rights, we will have stopped this process of percolation, and established the necessary external environment for secular relationships among the constituents of the civil society. But it needs to be emphasised that it would be only an external environment; and therefore by itself, though necessary, would not be sufficient, for the evolution and survival of a secular society. Something more vital is necessary and that is the internal factor. For, the ultimate springs of secularism are within. To repeat Chagla's words, secularism is an attitude of the mind and a quality of the heart. Each one of us as member of a civilized society must make his own individual effort to develop this mental attitude, this precious quality of the heart. In this task no body else can help us. It is our own inner moral sense which can provide us the necessary motivation to transform our theoretical conviction of the immense worth of secular ideals to individual and society into concrete reality. But given favourable external conditions brought by a helpful and determined state committed to secular ideals, there is every hope that we will make good progress – enough at least to justify our claim to be a secular society.

EPIGRAPHY AND SOME ASPECTS OF THE EARLY CHALUKYAN ART

SHRINIVAS V. PADIGAR

The need to approach art history in the perspective also of epigraphic evidence is only recently being felt. Epigraphs can be of considerable value, directly or indirectly, to understand the chronological, stylistic and other related aspects of art and architecture. Ever since its inception, the Chalukyan art study has been posing some seemingly elusive problems and it is to be anticipated that rational solutions to at least some of these problems should be sought for through an intensive study of contemporary epigraphs. This paper attempts to review the position of epigraphic evidence in relation to the early Chalukyan art in north Karnataka, taking into consideration the recent discoveries and reinterpretations.¹

There are four important sites in north Karnataka where the early Chalukyan monuments are clustered: Badami, Mahakuta, Aihole and Pattadakal. The aspects which I have dealt with here in the light of epigraphic evidence pertain to: a) Sculptors and Architects; b) the Patrons; c) Religious affiliation of the monuments and their functional aspects; d) Art motifs and e) Chronology.

a) Sculptors and Architects

The earliest securely dated monument of the Chalukyas is the Vaishṇava Cave III at Badami erected by Maṅgalēśa in the reign of his elder brother Kīrtivarman I (578 A.D.).² On stylistic grounds Caves I and II are generally acknowledged to have preceded Cave III, while Cave IV is regarded as contemporaneous with or slightly later than Cave III.³ Now, can we know who the stone-cutters, sculptors and architects working on the monuments were? There are nearly two hundred

1. This is a more exhaustive version of my paper entitled 'Epigraphy and some aspects of the Chalukyan Art' presented at the seminar on *Epigraphy and Allied Subjects* held in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwad, from 9th to 11th January 1985.

2. *Karnatak Inscriptions (KI)* V, No. 1.

3. For a detailed discussion on the chronology of the caves see Tarr, Gary, "Chronology and development of the Chalukya Cave temples", *Ars Orientalis*, VIII, pp. 155-184.

short inscriptions at Badami⁴ found on the sides and facades of the caves or nearby rocks. These are supposed to have been names of pilgrims visiting the caves. However, my study of these inscriptions as well as their locations has revealed that they cannot all be of pilgrims or visitors. Most of them are, in fact, of stone-cutters and sculptors. This is suggested by two factors : i) their location and ii) the suffixes used in some of the names. So far as the location of the inscriptions is considered, it is noticed that some of them are inscribed above the facades, sometimes as high as twenty feet or more. Without scaffolding or ladder or some other similar arrangement, such levels could not have been reached at all. It is impossible that a pilgrim would wish his name to be inscribed at such heights. The second factor is direct. Some names clearly indicate the profession of their authors. For instance, suffixes like *kalkuṭṭi* (stone-cutter) and *ōja* or *ōvaja* (sculptor) have been used in certain names : Aychasāmikalkuṭṭi,⁵ Duṭṭōja,⁶ Bijaya Ōvajan,⁷ etc. One more suffix of interest is *mañchi* which also seems to suggest the same profession as *ōja* or sculptor-architect. Positive indication to that effect comes from a short inscription on the Mālagitti Sun temple at Badami : it states that Āryamañchi Upādhyāya made that temple (*Āryamañchi upādhyāya nirmmita prāsāda*).⁸ There are numerous such names both in the north fort and near the caves (Kōḷimañchi,⁹ Pelamañchi,¹⁰ Siṅgimañchi,¹¹ etc.) and these are possibly indicative of their sculptor-architect status. Since almost all these inscriptions have been already published, it would be feasible to consider here only the relevant ones.

Considering the total number of names available near the caves, it is really surprising that only a few repeat on or near more than one cave. Nevertheless some do : Dōṇasvāmi (Dōṇamma, Dōṇa etc., cave I, II and III); Kōḷimañchi (Cave III and IV and North Fort); Beṇṇiyara Chāḷugēsi (Cave III and IV). A Drōṇasuputra (i. e., son of Drōṇa) is referred to on Cave II. Some of these names occur not only near the caves but also in the north fort area : Kōḷimañchi (Kōḷi or Kōḷitavārthan or Tatvārthan), Chāḷugēsi, Siṅgimañchi, Gaṇasvāmi, etc. This obviously indicates that

4. Inscriptions found near the caves are published in *South Indian Inscriptions (SII.)*, XV, Nos. 277-400 and XX, Nos. 270-273; those in the north fort are published in *SII.*, XX, nos. 258-269; *Ibid.* XV, nos. 415-447.

5. *SII.*, XV, no. 227.

6. *Ibid.*, Nos. 310 and 328.

7. *Ibid.*, no. 356.

8. *Ibid.*, no. 473. It has been wrongly read hitherto as *Āryamañchi upādhyāya nirmmita prāsāda*.

9. *Ibid.*, no. 338 and 364.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 365.

11. *Ibid.*, no. 339.

at least some of sculptor–architects worked not only on the cave–temples but also on the fort and perhaps the upper and lower Śivalayas in the north fort. ‘Vijayan’ appearing on the door–jamb of the Upper Śivalaya was probably the same as ‘Bijaya ōvajan’ near the caves. We may reasonably assume that the work continued at Badami from C. 543 to 650 A. D. and that some three or four generations of the sculptors, architects and stone–cutters worked there.

Though numerous names of sculptor–architects are known, it is difficult at present to identify the work of individual artists, particularly those who made sculptures. One exception, however, is ‘Nelavarke’, the sculptor of the beautiful Garuḍa relief in the eave of Cave III (578 A. D.).

A closer examination of the inscriptions reveals that often they are accompanied by a series of vertical lines arranged horizontally. Probably these indicate (like muster rolls) the number of days worked by respective sculptor. It is still to be ascertained whether on this ground the number of man–days the excavation of the caves had required can be computed.

In Aihole also there are short inscriptions recording names of sculptor–architects. On and near the Buddhist Chaitya–cum–Vihāra on the Mēguṭi hill are found the following names:¹² Bisāda, Biṇa amma, Biṇjaḍi ōvaja and Chitrādhīpa. Biṇjaḍi ōvaja was probably an important sculptor–architect of this monument because Narasobba, another great sculptor–architect of Aihole, claims to have been his disciple.¹³ The Huchchimmalliguṭi has the inscription of Kṛichuṅga (who plausibly made the Kārttikēya image in the ceiling of the *mukha–maṇḍapa*)¹⁴ and Kaṇṇaḍa.¹⁵ Near the Jaina cave are found on the rock the name and eulogy of Narasobba : He is described therein as the disciple of Biṇjaḍi ōvaja (who probably made the Buddhist temple), constructor of *vimānas* (temples), expert in the texts (of sculpture and architecture).¹⁶ He was probably the chief sculptor–architect of the Jaina cave. He also made the Huchchappayyaguḍi; in an inscription on that temple he announces confidently that none has excelled him in the past in Jambūdvīpa in the art of construction of temples, nor will anybody in future!¹⁷ An

12. Annigeri A. M. (Dharwad : 1974), *Aihole : Saṃskṛiti mattu Kale*, (Kannada), pp. 165–167, nos. 35, 38, 36, 40 and 42.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 177, no. 56.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 154, no. 19.

15. *Ibid.*, no. 20.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 177, nos. 55 and 56.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 172, no. 46.

associate of his was Ganasobba, a lion in the art of making images.¹⁸ On the Durga temple are a few inscribed names :¹⁹ Jinālaya, Muddasili, Besamayya, Surēndrapāda. Of these the first occurs also on the Pārvatī temple at Sandur.²⁰ Muddasili is likely to be the same as Silemudda referred to in a Pattadakal inscription. Besamayya was from Pattadakal (Kisuvōjal). He made the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes in the Durga temple. The name Surēndrapāda is in northern characters and possibly indicates a sculptor from northern part of India. In this connection it is interesting to note that some sculptures (e. g. Viṣṇu and Harihara) in the niches of that temple are observed to have been made by sculptors from the Mālava region stylistically.²¹

A noteworthy fact is that none of the names noticed at Badami recurs at Aihole. This plausibly implies that the group of sculptor-architects working at Aihole were different and independent. Stylistic evidence also points to this fact. For instance, the Varāha sculpture in Rāvaḷaphaḍi cave belongs to a totally different tradition from that of the Badami caves: the śaṅkha is not held in the hand of the deity but is floating in the background; Bhūdēvī is made to sit on the left arm of the god. The stylistic difference is also true of other sculptures of this cave. On the other hand, the depiction of śaṅkha as floating in the background is noticed in the Varāha sculptures of Pattadakal also (e.g., Saṅgamēśvara and Virūpāksha temples).

Numerous names of sculptor-architects are known from inscriptions of Pattadakal. Prominent among them are Guṇḍa Anivāritāchāri (who was the major architect of the Virūpāksha temple and possibly directed its northern half)²² and Sarvasiddhi āchārya (who directed the southern half of the same temple).²³ Others connected with the Virūpāksha temple were Dēvaputra (who made the Āditya image in the ceiling of the eastern *mukha-maṇḍapa*),²⁴ Baladēva, son of Duggi āchāri (who made the *dvārapāla*

18. *Ibid.*, p. 173, no. 47.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 150, no. 10; p. 148, nos. 7, 6 and 5.

20. Dr. C. R. Bolon of Art Department, University of Chicago, was kind enough to show me a photograph of this inscription on the wall of the Pārvatī temple at Sandur, Dist. Bellary. My thanks are due to her for this favour.

21. Harle J. C., "Some Remarks on Early Western Chalukyan Sculpture", *Aspects of Indian Art* (ed. by P. Pal, Leiden : 1972), pp. 65-69.

22. Annigeri A. M. (Dharwad : 1960), *Paṭṭadakalla Guḍigaḷu* (Kannada), p. 79, no. 2.

23. *Ibid.*, no. 3.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 82, no. 9. The correct reading of the inscription is as follows :

1. Svasti Śrī-Sakkarēśivādiga-

2. !a pādadhū!i Lōkēśvarada

3. mēlgaṇḍu geydōn Āditya-

4. gṛihada Dēvaputran

images in the southern *mukha-maṇḍapa*),²⁵ Chaṅgamma (who made a Śiva image on the south wall)²⁶ and Pullappa (who made a Śiva image on the north wall).²⁷ Here are some more names known from the Pāpanātha temple : Baladēva (the maker of *dvārapāla* in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the Śiva images in the *ghanadvāras*),²⁸ Benakuṭṭi (who made some images of the couples in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*)²⁹ and Rēvaḍi ōvaja (who was the grandson of Śilemudda (same as Muddasili (?) of Aihole) and disciple of Sarvasiddhi āchārya and who directed the southern half of the temple).³⁰

As pointed out above, there are certain resemblances in the sculptural tradition of Aihole and Pattadakal. The connection is apparent particularly in the case of Besamayya (Durga temple, Aihole) who expressly claims to be from Kisuvōjal (= Pattadakal); and if Muddasili of the Durga temple is identical with Śilemudda of Pāpanātha temple (which is most likely) it again follows that Rēvaḍi ōvaja, a major architect of the latter temple, was grandson of a sculptor of Aihole. It is interesting to note in this connection that Muddasili made the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes of the Durga temple and the south side wall of the Pāpanātha temple also has the depictions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes. A second aspect is that Sarvasiddhi-āchārya was the sculptor-architect of the southern side of the Virūpāksha temple, while his disciple Rēvaḍi ōvaja also made the southern half of the Pāpanātha temple. This implies a sort of specialisation. We may note here that the southern wall of the Virūpāksha temple also has the depictions of *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes. A third aspect to be noted is that some of the sculptors (e.g. Baladēva) worked on both the Virūpāksha and Pāpanātha temples. Lastly, Dēvaputra of the Virūpāksha temple claims to belong to *Āditya-grīha* (Sun temple) which may be probably the same as the Durga temple at Aihole (?).

b) The Patrons

Many of the major monuments of the Chalukyas were patronized by the royal house. The Mahakuta pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (596-97 A D.) refers to the *Dēvadrōṇi* (divine boat) and the Makuṭēśvaranātha temple.³¹

25. *Ibid*, p. 83, no. 12.

26. *Ibid*, p. 84, no. 14.

27. *Ibid.*, no. 15.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 97, no. 25; *SII*. XV, nos. 481, 483, 513 and 484.

29. *SII*. XV, no. 485.

30. Annigeri A. M. (1960), p. 59, no. 29.

31. *Indian Antiquary (IA)*, XIX, pp. 7-20. For recent reinterpretation, see Ramesh K. V. (Delhi : 1984), *Chalukyas of Vātāpi*, pp. 46-47.

The inscription states that grants were earlier given to these temples by Polekēṣi I and Kīrtivarman I. The *Dēvadrōṇi* in all probability adverts to the *sarvatōbhadrā-maṇḍapa* temple in the tank at Mahakuta. But the identity of the Makuṭēśvaranātha temple with the modern Mahākūṭēśvara temple is still open to question. Architectural and sculptural evidence makes it difficult to place the present-day temple before 650 A. D.³² The inscriptional reference is probably to an earlier temple and a competent claimant in this respect is the Hire-Mahākūṭēśvara temple.³³ The existing group of temples around the tank temple (*Dēvadrōṇi*) probably owes its origin to the munificent donations made by Maṅgalēśa and recorded in his inscription. The magnificent Vaishṇava cave at Badami was the creation of Maṅgalēśa during the reign of Kīrtivarman I (578 A. D.).³⁴ The Rāvaḷaphaḍi cave at Aihole has been recently ascribed to Maṅgalēśa on the strength of a label inscription which reads *Śrī-Raṇavi(krāntan)* (the second name of Maṅgalēśa).³⁵ That the Mēguṭi Jaina temple was erected by Polekēṣi II's court-poet Ravikīrti is well known.³⁶ One of the temples in the vicinity of the Chakraguḍi at Aihole was probably countenanced by his crown prince Vikramāditya I as revealed by a recently discovered inscription.³⁷ The Jambuliṅga temple at Badami was erected by Vijayāditya.³⁸ So was the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Pattadakal (whose deity was named after him as Vijayēśvara).³⁹ The Huchchimalliguḍi at Aihole also has on it an inscription of his (708-09).⁴⁰ The Durga temple at Aihole has an inscription of Vikramāditya II on its gateway which refers to the temple as Komarasiṅga's temple (*Komarasiṅgana dēgula*) thereby indicating that it was probably

32. For a discussion on the chronology of the present Mahākūṭēśvara temple, see Michell, George, "Dating the Mahākūṭēśvara Temple at Mahakuta", *Oriental Art* (New Series), XXI/3 (1975), pp. 242-251.

33. For a description and discussion on this temple, see Bolon C. R. "The Mahakuta pillar and its Temples", *Artibus Asiae*, XLI/2-3, (1980), pp. 253-268.

34. *KI*, V, no. 1.

35. Ramesh K. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72. But I cannot subscribe to his view that the Naṭarāja image in the Rāvaḷaphaḍi cave represents the deified image of Maṅgalēśa. Maṅgalēśa was a *parama-bhāgavata* (i.e., a devotee of Viṣṇu), and I don't see any reason why he could be deified as Śiva instead of Viṣṇu. After all the inscription is so illegibly inscribed, it could even be read as *Raṇa-vi[kraman]*; and if at all we are to attach any significance to it, that could at best be regarded only as of doubtful chronological value.

36. *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*, VI, pp. 1-12

37. Ramesh K. V., *op. cit.*, p. 101.

38. *IA.*, X, pp. 60-61; *KI*, I, pp. 2-4.

39. Annigeri A. M., (1960), p. 25, no. 24.

40. Annigeri A. M., (1974), p. 154, no. 18; *IA.*, VIII, pp. 284-285.

erected by a person named Komarasiṅga.⁴¹ Vikramāditya's two Haihaya queens, Lōkamahādēvi and Trailōkyamahādēvi, erected the two temples of Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna (whose deities were respectively named after them as Lōkēśvara and Trailōkēśvara).⁴² A temple in B. N. Jalihal (near Pattadakal) mentions Vikramāditya II.⁴³ Jñānaśivāchārya installed a Triśūla pillar between the three temples of Virūpāksha, Mallikārjuna and Saṅgamēśvara at Pattadakal in the reign of Kirtivarman II.⁴⁴

c) Religious Affiliation and Functional Aspects of the Monuments

One of the problems connected with the Chalukyan monuments is their original dedication. Because of the Garuḍa in the *lalaṭa-bimba* of the doorways, it was previously held that all their temples were originally dedicated to Viṣṇu and were later on converted for Śaiva use. This view has been given up recently as there are strong evidences to the contrary. The epigraphs have considerably eased the problem by mentioning the original deities. The dedications of the monuments as known from inscriptions are listed below.

Badami

Vaishṇava Cave III	Mahāvishṇu (Vaishṇava) ⁴⁵
Jambuliṅga temple	Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Mahēśvara ⁴⁶
Bhūtanātha (east)	Bhūtēśvara (Śaiva) ⁴⁷

Mahakuta

Mahākūṭēśvara	Makuṭēśvaranātha (Śaiva) ⁴⁸
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Aihole

Mēguṭi Jaina temple	Jinēndra (Jaina) ⁴⁹
Durga temple	Āditya (Saura) ⁵⁰
Gauḍaraguḍi	Durgābhagavatī (Śākta) ⁵¹

41. *IA*, VIII, pp. 285-286.

42. Annigeri A. M., (1960), p. 95, no. 24; *EL*, III, p. 1 ff.

43. Nagaraja Rao M. S. and Ramesh K. V. in *Madhu* (Delhi : 1981), pp. 175-177. The scholars have argued that the memorial temple was of king Vikramāditya II himself. It is not mentioned in the inscription as such. It will have to be explained why a third person Beṇamma erected the temple over the relics of Vikramāditya II when the latter had his son living. It is just possible that the memorial was erected over the relics of Dēvāri by his son Beṇamma.

44. Annigeri A. M. (1960), p. 95, no. 24; *EL*, III, p. 1 ff.

45. *KI*, V, no. 1.

46. *IA*, X, pp. 60-61.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

48. *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 7-20.

49. *EL*, VI, pp. 1-12.

50. *IA*, VIII, pp. 285-286.

51. Annigeri A. M. (1974), p. 152, no. 14.

Pattadakal

Saṅgamēśvara

Virūpakṣa

Mallikārjuna

Vijayēśvara (Śaiva)⁵²Lōkēśvara (Śaiva)⁵³Trailōkyēśvara (Śaiva)⁵⁴

There was some controversy over the identification of the religious affiliation of the two-storeyed temple on the Mēguṭi hill at Aihole. Some regarded it as Buddhist while a few others maintained it to be Śvētāmbara Jaina. Scholars now favour the former view. Interestingly, an inscription on a pillar of that temple mentions Ānandasthavira's disciple Piṇḍavādi Mahēndra.⁵⁵ *Sthavira* means a Buddhist monk and the names sound clearly non-Jaina. Obviously, two Buddhist monks connected with the temple are mentioned in the inscription. Hence the Buddhist affiliation of the temple is confirmed. Whether Piṇḍavāda refers to a system of Mahāyāna Buddhism is yet to be ascertained.

Some inscriptions indicate the functional aspect of certain temples and thereby explain their architectural form. An inscription on the Lāḍ Khān temple, for instance, gives a list of ceremonies along with the prescribed sum of money for each ceremony. This clearly suggests that the Lāḍ Khān temple was essentially meant for the use of the public (just as the modern *Kalyāṇamaṇḍapas* or marriage-halls) for performing socio-religious ceremonies like *Upanayana*, marriage, etc.⁵⁶ Another inscription on the wall of a Śiva temple in B. N. Jalihal (near Pattadakal) implies the practice of erecting memorial temple over relic-casket⁵⁷ Yet another inscription, recently discovered by me at Badami, gives the information that a cave (*bila*) was got made by the Mahājanas of the place as (memorial) temple (*prāsāda*) of Satyaśraya-mahārāja (i. e., Polekēśi II).⁵⁸

d) Art Motifs and Style

Certain art motifs and stylistic elements in the Chalukyan context can be explained on grounds of epigraphic evidence. I shall dwell upon a few examples here.

52. Annigeri A. M. (1960), p. 95, no. 24.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy: 1957-58*, no. 213; Annigeri A. M. (1974), p. 166, no. 37.

56. *IA.*, VIII, p. 287. For a discussion on this inscription see my article: "Significance of Lāḍ Khān Temple Inscription", *Rangavalli: Recent Researches in Indology* (Delhi: 1983), pp. 135-143.

57. See note 43 above.

58. See my article: "A Poor Memorial for a Great King", *Sunday Herald* (Bangalore: 19 June, 1983), p. 2.

A common art motif noticed on the door-frame of Chalukya structural monuments is the *Garuḍa-and-Nāgaśākhā* scheme. Surprisingly, this motif is not noticed in the earlier Chalukya temples [e. g., the caves, Upper Śivālaya, Lower Śivālaya (Badami); Hirē-Mahākūṭēśvara and Bāṇantiguḍi (Mahakuta)] which are reasonably placed before 610 A.D. on various grounds. Its first occurrence is observed in the Mālegitti Sun temple which is placed around c. 625 A. D. and not later than 650 A.D. Thereafter it is more or less a regular feature. However, its earlier use is known elsewhere in north India in late or immediately post-Gupta period (c. 6th century A. D.).⁵⁹ Apparently *Garuḍa-and-Nāgaśākhā* scheme was not an innovation of the Chalukyan artist, but an interpolation into Chalukya region from the north. Interestingly, in the case of the Mālagitti Sun temple's sculpture too the impact of "northern style" has been discerned.⁶⁰ Now if this particular motif arrived in the Chalukya region sometime in post-610 A. D. and pre-650 A. D. period, the event must be accommodated right in the reign of Polekēśi II. From the Aihole *praśasti* of Polekēśi II, it is known that by 634 A. D. he had already completed his *digvijaya* and his dominions had extended upto the Narmadā in the north. Therefore, it is possible that the *Garuḍa-and-Nāgaśākhā* motif infiltrated into the Chalukyan art owing to the political contacts established during the reign of Polekēśi II.

We should note here another outcome of Polekēśi's conquests. It has bearing on the Sun cult. As far as the present evidence goes, the earliest temple of the Sun-god to be erected in the Chalukya period was the Mālagitti temple at Badami. From that time onwards the cult of Āditya (Sun-god) appears to have ascended in popularity considerably. Good number of Āditya temples (e. g., the Durga temple and other temples in its vicinity at Aihole) were erected. Again, it is not possibly a mere coincidence that Polekēśi's three sons were named with 'Āditya' prefixed or suffixed; and all his successors (except Kirtivarman II) had their names suffixed with 'Āditya' (Ādityavarma, Chandrāditya, Vikramāditya Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya).

Another art motif connected with the Chalukyan monuments is the depiction of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the door-frames and rarely on the pillars. None of the earlier reasonably dated Chalukya monuments have it : the caves, Upper Śivālaya, Lower Śivālaya, Mālagitti temple, Bāṇantiguḍi, Hirē-Mahākūṭēśvara, Rāvaḷaphaḍi cave, etc. In the earlier temples

59. Asher Frederick M. (Minneapolis : 1980), *The Art of Eastern India*, 300-800, pls. 115, 116.

60. Harle J C., *Op. cit.*

there is either no depiction of such images or the representation of Kāma and Ratī instead. On the other hand, some of the temples carrying the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā could be safely assigned to the reign of Vijayāditya or after on epigraphic evidence [e.g., Jambuliṅga (Badami), Saṅgamēśvara (Pattadakal), Huchchimalliguḍi (Aihole), etc.]. On stylistic grounds many other temples having these figures are placed after 680 A.D. (e.g., the Lāḍ Khān temple has pillars and capitals in the hall exactly similar to those of the Jambuliṅga of Badami; the Durga temple niche sculptures are ascribed to around c. 700 A.D. and so on). As such, this art motif is clearly a later interpolation in the Chalukyan architecture. However, in the Gupta and post Gupta temples of north India it is a common feature. In this respect it is interesting to note a striking claim of the Chalukyas adverted to in the copper-plate charters of Vijayāditya : While still a prince, he battled in the north and defeated his enemies (led by Vajraṭa, who was probably the ruler of Mālava at that time) and took away their royal standards consisting of *Gaṅgā-Yamunā-Pāṇi-dhvaja*, *paḍha* (kettle-drum), *ḍhakkā* (war-drum), etc., which he handed over to his father Vinayāditya.⁶¹ Of these, particularly noteworthy are the two river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā and the *pāṇi* which means *kalaśa* or *pūrṇaghaṭa* (full-vase or vase of abundance). Certainly it must have been deemed by the Chalukyas as a great achievement and their artists began to represent the river gooddesses on the pillars and door-frames from c. 685 A.D. (Vinayāditya's reign) onwards. It will be pertinent to remark here that among their temples only the Lāḍ Khān and the Huchchappayyamaṭha carry prominent depictions of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on porch pillars. This may connote the fresh memory of the feat during the reign of Vinayāditya itself. The prominent depiction of *pūrṇaghaṭa* on the *kakshāsana* of the Lāḍ Khān and other temples (Gauḍaraguḍi, Huchchimalliguḍi, etc.) should also be viewed significant from this point of view. From the time of Vijayāditya onwards perhaps the artists were content to represent the river goddesses in the lower part of the door-jambs. K. V. Ramesh has recently suggested that the name Lāḍ Khān could be just an altered survival of the word Lāṭa, which he feels fits well in the reign of Polekēśi II assuming that it was built by a Chalukya prince of Lāṭa.⁶² If there is any substance in the Lāṭa connection, I feel that the Lāḍ Khān temple should fit better in the reign of Vinayāditya in the light of the above evidence i) that the Lāṭa kingdom had been saved from Vajraṭa's invasion and ii) that the claims of

61. For an elaboration of this aspect, also see Bolon C. R., *op. cit.*

62. Ramesh K. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

Chalukya victory have been prominently represented sculpturally on this temple (i. e., Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Pāli), probably for the first time in the Chalukyan art. Accordingly these three motifs, viz. the two river goddesses and the full-vase, must be ascribed chronological import in the Chalukyan context.

As mentioned above, some niche sculptures of the Durga temple (particularly Garuḍavāhana Viṣṇu and Harihara) clearly display a stylistic distinctiveness (of Mālava region around 700 A. D.) from those of the Chalukyan artists. It was also pointed out that an inscription on a pillar of that temple is in northern characters. The 'northern characters' have been scarcely employed in the Chalukyan region; and when employed, the northern Indian connection is strikingly discernible. For instance, both the 'northern' and 'southern' (Chalukyan Kannaḍa) scripts have been put to use in the Trīśūla pillar inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman II at Pattadakal; but here again we notice that a north Indian person was involved in the record : Jñānaśivāchārya of Mṛigathaṇḍikāhāra (Sarnath ?) located on the northern banks of the Gaṅgā. Thus we can reasonably surmise that Surēndrapāda, hailing from the north, was one of the sculptors of the *dēvakōshṭha* images in the Durga temple at Aihole.

e) Chronology

The most debated aspect of the Chalukyan monuments is their chronology. Although many monuments have inscriptions on them they do not necessarily contain the date or serve as foundation records. Hence, any solution to the chronology of the Chalukyan monuments is compelled to be built upon stylistic and comparative study of the monuments in relation to the epigraphically dated ones. In the above study, the clues provided by inscriptions in respect of relative chronology have been frequently alluded to : Names of sculptor-architects, names of patrons, art motifs like *Garuḍa-and-Nāgaśākhā*, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and *Pūrṇaghaṭa*, etc. all serve as important clues. Here we shall first enlist the temples which could be dated epigraphically and then take up the question of relatively dating the remaining important temples.

Badami

Vaishṇava cave III

578 A.D.

Jambuliṅga

699 A.D.

Mahakuta

Dēvadrōṇi (Tank-temple)

543-66 A.D.

Aihole

Rāvaḷaphaḍi cave	591-610 A.D. ⁶³
Mēguṭi (Original portions)	634 A.D.
Huchchimalliguḍi	696-708 A.D.
Durga temple	700-734 A.D.

Pattadakal

Saṅgamēśvara	696-734 A.D.
Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna	734-44 A.D.

B. N. Jalihal

Śiva temple (Memorial)	734-44 A.D.
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Now as to the remaining important temples and their relative chronology.

Badami

Since the Caves I and II must clearly precede Cave III (578 A. D.), the date range for these three caves would be 543-578 A. D. (i. e., 35 years).⁶⁴ Of course, there may have taken place minor alterations or additions later on. The Mahakuta pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa ascribes the *Dēvadrōṇi* (divine boat or the tank temple which enshrines a *chaturmukhaliṅga*) and the original Makuṭēśvaranātha temple to Polekēśi I, thereby implying his possible Śaiva inclinations. In that case it would be also appropriate to regard him as the patron of Cave I (Śaiva) at Badami. Accordingly the date range of 543-566 for Cave I. A son (*suputra*) of a sculptor who worked on Cave I worked along with his father (Dōṇa or Drōṇa) on Cave II. This fact would place Cave II slightly later than Cave I. If the identification of Pūgavarman of the Mudhol plates with Kīrtivarman I⁶⁵ is correct, the latter king would appear to have had Vaishṇava leanings (because the record refers to renewal of a grant for god Varāha). Hence Cave II (Vaishṇava) may be ascribed in his reign period, preferably a little time before 578 A.D. (i.e., 566-575 A.D.). Some sculptors like Pañcāṇa and Kōḷimañchi worked on both Caves III

63. See note 35 above. I have my own reservations in accepting Dr. Ramesh's view regarding the label record and, as such, the dating of the Rāvaḷaphaḍi cave. Further confirmatory evidence is still awaited in this connection.

64. Ravikīrti's inscription states that Vātāpi was chosen for capital of the Chalukyas by Polekēśi I. The earliest record we have to that effect is the Badami cliff inscription dated 543 A. D. Therefore, no monuments in Badami can be dated before 543 A.D.

65. Ramesh K. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

and IV. This would suggest that Cave IV was excavated more or less contemporaneously with Cave III, if not slightly later. In fact Cave IV has on its front portion an inscription mentioning a '*Sibi-āśrayan*' which could be an epithet of Maṅgalēśa himself (cf. his Mahakuta pillar inscription : *Sibir-Auśinara iva pradātā*). In that case, Cave IV has to be ascribed in Maṅgalēśa's reign (591/2-610 A. D.). The Upper Śivālaya has on its door-jamb a record mentioning 'Vijaya' who could be identical with 'Bijaya ōvaja' appearing near cave IV. The carvings of lions below the front row of pillars in Cave IV compare well with that in the front portion of the porch of the Upper Śivālaya. The *Garuḍa-and-Nāgaśākhā* scheme is absent from the door-frame of this temple. It was clearly of Vaishṇava dedication. These facts would go in favour of its being erected in the reign of Maṅgalēśa (591/2-610 A. D.). The Lower Śivālaya also has no *Garuḍa-and-Nāgaśākhā* motif on its door-frame and stylistically goes well with the Upper Śivālaya. The inscription on its rear wall mentions a Sarvvadāsa which name is not repeated elsewhere. This temple also seems to be of Vaishṇava dedication. Hence it may be regarded as coeval with the Upper Śivālaya. The Mālagitti temple has its close parallel in the Mēguṭi temple at Aihole (634 A. D.). Its wall sculptures show influence of 'northern' style. Originally it was a Sun temple and its *dvārapālas* are carved according to the prescription of the *Matsya-purāṇa*.⁶⁶ Its *garbhagṛiha* doorway has the *Garuḍa-and-Nāgaśākhā* possibly for the first time in the Chalukyan monuments. The lower portions of the door-jamb carry the figures of Kāma and Ratī. Hence it fits well in the reign of Polekēśi II and may date from about 625 A. D. The Bhūtanātha temple has the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on its door-jamb but no *Garuḍa-and-Nāgaśākhā* motif. This is significant because in the later temples at Pattadakal the scheme is slowly replaced by other ornate motifs. Of the other features, the pillars are comparable to those of the Pattadakal temples. Hence a date-range c. 725-750 is suggested for this temple.

Mahakuta

The Bāṇantiguḍi at Mahakuta has its porch pillars comparable to the tank-temple and its *śikhara* with that of the Upper Śivālaya, Badami. Hence it is either coeval with the Upper Śivālaya or slightly earlier than that. The suggested date-range is c. 570-600 A.D. The Mahākūṭeśvara and Mallikārjuna are the two major temples of this place. Their dating has been discussed in detail by George Michell.⁶⁷ The main temples

66. For this aspect, see my article "Some Sculptures of Mālegitti Śivālaya and their Identification", *Journal of the Karnatak University (Social Sciences)*, XIII (1977), pp. 62-64.

67. See note 32 above.

appear to be well developed in their plan. The ceiling sculptures of the Mallikārjuna compare very well with those of the Jambuliṅga at Badami. The door-ways carry *Garuḍa-and-Nagāśākhā* as well as Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures. The earliest datable inscription on the Mahākūṭēśvara temple belongs to the reign of Vijayāditya. Hence a late 7th century date (c. 685–700) appears reasonable.

Aihole

The Mēguṭi temple appears to be the earliest important structural monument at Aihole. The only temple which may pre-date it is the Ambigēraguḍi. Preference in this place was obviously to the *maṇḍapa*, *nāgara rēkhā* and *phāmsanā* temple types. The *vimāna* type is rare. The Buddhist temple would have to be placed in the first half of the 7th century because the disciple of one of the sculptor-architects of this monument was an excellent builder in late 7th and early 8th centuries. The beam carrying Polekēśi II's inscription now in Chakraguḍi probably belongs to that temple itself and the original Chakraguḍi may belong to his reign (c. 640 A.D.). The probable significance of the prominent depictions of the river goddesses and *pūrṇaḥaṭa* motif on the Lāḍ Khān, Huchchappayyamaṭha, and Gauḍaraguḍi has been already pointed out. These may belong to the period 685–700 A.D. The Chikkiguḍi displays close iconographic parallels with the Badami caves but it also exhibits later features like the river goddess figures. Hence it may belong to c. 685–690 A.D. Huchchimalliguḍi has an unrefined *rēkhā śikhara* and compares with the Chikkiguḍi in pillar details and ceiling decoration. The terminal date for this temple is 708/9 A.D. The suggested date-range, therefore, is 690–708 A.D. As already pointed out, Narasobba was probably an important sculptor-architect of the Jaina cave and, as such, it should date from about the second half of the 7th century A.D. The Huchchappayyaguḍi was also the work of the same architect and shows considerable maturity. It may belong to the date-range 700–710 A.D.

Pattadakal

The Gaḷaganātha temple at this place is a very well developed *rēkhā prāsāda* and does not seem to be the work of local artists. The sculptor-architects from Alampur appear to have a lion's share in its construction.⁶⁸ Although a date in the reign of Vinayāditya is suggested by some scholars,⁶⁹ I would prefer to place it in the reign of Vijayāditya because

68. Bolon C. R., "Reconstructing Gaḷaganātha", *C. Sivaramamurti Felicitation Volume* (in Press).

69. *Ibid.*

the architectural activity of the Chalukyas at Pattadakal seemingly started in his reign. It may date from c. 696–710 A.D. The Sangamēśvara temple's erection must have commenced considerably late in Vijayāditya's rule since it was left unfinished. This temple owes its present form to patrons like *dēvadāsis* and *heggaḍes* who contributed some of its pillars.⁷⁰ Therefore, a date-range 720–734 A. D. appears appropriate. The Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna temples are dated by inscriptions in the reign of Vikramāditya II. (733/4–744). The Pāpanātha temple is not a construction of one-time venture in its entirety. However, most exhaustive additions have been made to it certainly after the Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna temples. This is not only indicated by the stylistic elements but also by names of sculptors and architects who worked on it. As it stands today, it may be assigned a date-range of 744–750 A. D. It is not impossible that some of the sculptor–architects who worked on the Gaḷaganātha temple were involved in its construction, particularly the *sikhara* and the *jālaka* decorations on its walls.

70. For instance see Annigeri A. M. (1960), p. 86, no. 18 (*Śrī Bijēśvarada sūle Chalabbeya kaṁbammūru*) no. 19; no. 20 (Perggaḍe Poleyachchi gave 51 gold *gadyāṇas* for making (pillars of Bijēśvara); no. 21, (Bhōdamma's gift of two pillars).

BĀSAVURA-140 - SOME OF ITS IMPORTANT AREAS

MISS. ZAKIA KHANUM M. PATHAN

Bāsavura-140 was an administrative division consisting of hundred and forty villages with Bāsavura as its headquarters. This territory was under Khacharas who were minor chiefs weilding administrative authority over this region.

The Khacharas made their appearance on the political scene as *Nālgāvunḍas* from the beginning of the 11th century A. D., coinciding with the rise of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and shifted their loyalty to the Kalachuris and later to the Sēuṇas.

Bāsavura or Vyāsapura which was the headquarters of this division is now represented by two neighbouring villages, Chikka-Bāsūr and Hire-Bāsūr in the Hirekerur and Hangal taluk respectively of the Dharwad district. This division of Bāsavura-140 was a part of the bigger and famous division viz., Banavāsi-12000. A careful study of the inscriptions shows that this division of Banavāsi roughly covered southern parts of Uttara Kannada (North Kanara) and Dharwad district, and mostly the whole of Shimoga district upto the river Tungabhadra. It is indeed difficult to locate today all the hundred and forty villages. Nevertheless, on the basis of the available evidence we can locate atleast a few of them and try to mark tentatively the boundry of the same.

On the basis of inscriptions studied we can surmise that Bāsavura-140 covered the areas between the rivers Varadā and the Tungabhadra, part of Hangal taluk below the river Varadā and the adjoining Haveri and Byadgi taluks and a small portion of the northern part of Ranebennur taluk.

Inscriptions indicate that the following villages formed part of this division.

1. Ajjaḍi probably identical with Kallihal in Hāvēri taluk.¹
2. Beluhuge-70, modern Belvagi in Hāvēri taluk.²

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol XVIII, intro. page xxiv.

2. *Ibid*, No. 50.

3. *Ibid*, No. 69.

3. Devangere, Dēvgiri in Havēri taluk.⁴
4. Deyada Hosavūru, Dēvihosūr in Hāvēri taluk.⁵
5. Guttavoḷal, Guttal in Hāvēri taluk.⁶
6. Hāvēri, Hāvēri taluk.⁷
7. Honnavatti, modern Honnavatti in Ranebennur taluk.⁸
8. Jīḍugūr, modern Dīḍgur in Hāvēri taluk.⁹
9. Kadarmiḍi, modern Kadarmaṇḍalgi in Byadgi taluk.¹⁰
10. Kāganelli, Kāginelli in Hirekerur taluk.¹¹
11. Karage, probably Karagi in Hāvēri taluk.¹²
12. Kōḷūr, in Hāvēri taluk.¹³
13. Konavatti, possibly represented by two villages, Hire-Konatti and Chika- Konatti situated in Hirekerur taluk.¹⁴
14. Mallavura, Mallur in Hāvēri taluk.¹⁵
15. Neeralgi, Nīralgi in Hāvēri taluk.¹⁶
16. Sattalige in Haveri taluk.¹⁷
17. Tambuge, modern Konantumbige in Haveri taluk.¹⁸

Besides these there were other villages included in this division, but their identity cannot be established with certainty. Their list is given below. It is also difficult to trace all the hundred and forty villages included in this division.

Inscriptions indicate that this division was further subdivided into smaller divisions or administrative units. For instance Beluhuge-70 or Belguhe was one such. Beluhuge which is modern Belvagi in Hāvēri

4. *Ibid*, No. 177.

5. *Ibid*, No. 152.

6. *Ibid*, No. 337,

7. *Ibid*, No. 157,

8. *Ibid*, No. 302,

9. *Ibid*, No. 52,

10. *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol IV, No. 11,

11. *SII*, XVIII, No. 117.

12. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol XIX p. 116.

13. *Ibid*, p. 182,

14. *SII*, XVII, No. 132.

15. *Ibid*, No. 60.

16. *Ibid*, No. 151,

17. *Ibid*, No. 69,

18. *E. I.* XIX P. 183,

taluk was the headquarters of this division. Some of the other villages which were included in this division were Guttal and Niralgi. Honnavatti-12 was another small division. It consisted of areas around Honatti in Ranebennur taluk of Dharwad district. Kāginelli-12 was yet another small division of twelve villages. Kāginelli was the famous place associated with the mystic saint Kanakadāsa in Byadgi taluk was its headquarters. Thus roughly the northern boundary of Bāsavura division would be the river Varadā from along the borders.

In the east, the river Tungabhadra proceeding from Belvige and covering Hāvēri taluk and proceeding upto Belur formed the borders. In the south a line drawn from Hirekonatti in Hirekerur taluk to about Belur on the banks of the river Tungabhadra in Ranebennur taluk covering a small portion of Hirekerur and the northern portion of Ranebennur taluk can be said to be Bāsavura-140.

To the north of this division were Purigere, Māsavāḍi division, to the west Pānumgal-500 and to the south-west Nāgārkhanda and to the south-east Raṭṭapaḷḷi and other divisions.

Besides, it is indeed interesting to note that inscriptions describe some of these places in this division as pretty prominent from religious and other points of view. Thus, for example, Dēvihoṣūr or the ancient Deyvada-Posavūr was an important centre in this division. As indicated by the name itself this place was a religious centre dedicated to a deity. It was also an *agrahāra* i. e., a centre of higher learning and religious activities. The famous deity of this place was Malati or Malachi said to be the consort of God Maīaradēva. The temple of this deity must have been built atleast in the 10th century A. D., itself. An inscription of 1063 A. D.¹⁹ describes that a *makaratorāṇa* was constructed for the temple of this deity by an officer called Indappayya or Indra. This deity here is described as *Kali*, *Rudra* and *Bhairavi*. An inscription from this place dated 1149 A. D.²⁰ gives a fine poetic description from this place extolling its beauty. In a mythical way it states that this *agrahāra* was granted to the Brāhmaṇas by king Janamējaya of the Purāṇic fame. This was a *Śaktapīṭha* or centre of *Śakti* worship and people from far and near came to this place to offer worship to this deity. Further, this inscription says that an officer of Banavāsi, Rēcharasa visited this place to fulfill his vow (*Harake*) and made certain grants in the presence of the

19. *SII*, XVIII, No. 65

20. *Ibid*, No. 152.

people of different neighbouring villages. It also states that the place got its name Deyvada–Posavūr or Deviya–Hosavūr because of this deity only.

Kāginelli, an ancient Kāginelli was yet another important place in this division as already noted above. It was the headquarters of this division of twelve villages. In the 16th century A. D., it became very famous because of its association with the noted mystic saint and composer of Karnataka viz., Kanakadāsa. But the history of this place goes back to atleast the 10th to 11th century A. D.; One of the inscriptions from this place dated 1121 A. D.²¹, gives a fanciful explanation of the name of this place Kāginelli. In Kannada *Kāge* means crow and *Nelli* means the abode or resort, so Kāginelli means the abode of crows. The poet seems to imagine that on the 14th day of *Kārtikamāsa* would be available in this place mud and earth (*mṛittikā*) by eating which a crow became white and the people thought that mud and earth had a peculiar power and hence the place came to be known as Kāginelli. Besides this the name Kāginelli may also be interpreted to mean black soil i. e., soil being as black as crow (*Kāge* means crow and *nelli* means place).

In an exaggerated way again an anonymous poet of this inscription says that, this was one of the best places on earth with natural beauty, wisdom and prosperity. The best place was surrounded by beautiful gardens and there was a beautiful tank surpassing even the ocean. And the sylvan beauty surpassed that of the garden of Indra. It was a big city with many localities. There were streets of dancing girls, the row of shops of big merchants, temples as high as divine mountain and the groups of Jina *basadi*. This Kāginelli was a monument of prosperity. Besides, Kāginelli was not only an abode of many temples of Śiva such as Kālēśvara, constructed by Kalgauda, there was a temple of Sūrya constructed by his son Ādityavarma. Other important Śaiva centres of the territory were Guttal, Galaganātha, Haraḷahaḷḷi Chauḍādānpur. The Kāginelli inscription speaks of a *Nāṭyaśāla*, a dancing hall and a *Vagalatanga maṇṭapa* or *Sarasvati maṇṭapa* obviously a hall for studies and learned discourses.

Honatti, or Honavatti–12 was another division of twelve villages included in this division. Modern Honatti in Ranebennur taluk of Dharwad district was the headquarters of this division. An anonymous poet who composed the inscription dated 1124 A.D.,²² found in this place has spared no words in describing the beauty of this place. According

21. *Ibid*, No. 177,

22. *Ibid*, No. 124,

to him no city either on earth or heaven was equal in glory to this place. The cities of Indra and Kubera viz., Surapura, Bhōgavatipura and Alakapura were nothing before this city of Honnavatti. In fact, according to the poet, no human being was capable of describing this “emperor of cities” (*ūrgaḷa Chakravarti*).

There were Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, Jaina *basadis* and Bauddha *viḥāras*. It was full of trees bending low at the foot and groups of lakes of cool water and gardens in all the seasons. Whether all these were actually there may be questioned, but the description of the poet is at least very pleasing. The Mahājanas of this place were highly learned and thorough in all the lores.

SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF TĀRĀ BHAGAVATI FROM BAḷḷIGĀVE – BANAVĀSĪ

H. R. RAGHUNATH BHAT

That Buddhism coexisted with other religious sects, Shaiva, Vaishnava, Shakta, Jaina, in the context of Baḷḷigāve – Banavāsi region, is substantiated by Buddhist antiquities.¹ These evidences, both epigraphical and sculptural, though scanty, are not only corroborative but conclusive.

It is to be noted that a tantric form of Buddhism known as Vajrayāna had gained popularity in the early medieval period at Balligave, which was in that period, a known centre of the Kalamukhas. Not only that, some of the Kalamukhas used to study the Buddhist works as attested by the local inscription.² The use of such terms as *yoginis*, *kusalis*, *sanyasis* in Balligave inscriptions, *prajna*, *sunya* in the Dambala epigraph,³ also confirm this view, viz. tantric Vajrayana Buddhism held grounds in the area. The significance of the popularity of such tantric cults in the contemporary socio-religious environment, lies in the fact that they satisfied various sections of the medieval society catering to their socio-religious beliefs and practices with equal efficiency. Vajrayāna, moreover, represents a doctrine with many borrowings from Hinduism in ritual, iconography and resort to magico-religious practices. It is not surprising that in such a cult a vast pantheon of esoteric divinities gained popularity.

Of the various innovations that the Vajrayanists introduced, the cult/ worship of Tarabhagavati is, probably, the most significant. Its popularity in the early medieval Karnataka with special reference to the Tungabhadra basin is confirmed by a few sculptural representations of Tara, so far discovered at Balligave (Shimoga), Banavasi (Uttara Kannada), Kolivada and Dambala (Dharwad). All of them are ascribable to the early medieval period (11th, 12th, 13th centuries) on grounds of palaeography and style of the sculptures. An attempt has been made here to review two of the figure sculptures from Balligave – Banavāsi region.

1. EC VII Sk 170, (1065): Sk 169, (1067);, MG II-i, Bangalore, 1930, p 144.

2. BKI I-i No. 99 (1063); EC VIII, Sa 108 (1042)

3. IA X, 185 (1095-6), JIH XXXII (1954) pp 85-92.

Plate – I



Tārābhagavatī, Buddhist Goddess Baḷligāve (Shimoga Dt.)

Plate – II



Tārābhagavati from Banavasi (U. K.)

Tarabhagavati from Balligave :

Discovered by Lewis Rice during his epigraphical explorations in 1900–1, in Ballikadappa's field at Balligave,⁴ this figure sculpture is undoubtedly one of the masterpieces of the Balligave–Banavasi region. Tara is seated on the padmapitha in lalitasana or sukhasana pose with her right leg letting down and resting on the blossomed lotus (not on the Buddhist dharma chakra as C. Hayavadan Rao had described). Though moderately ornamented, the jewellery is of high quality in design and execution. Of the two hands of the deity, the right is broken except the palm depicted in the *bhumisparsha–varada mudra* with a symbol of lotus on the inner palm. Only the left shoulder is intact without its forehead. From behind the tiara of Tara hangs the plaited locks of hair. The under garment clings close and smoothly to the thighs and legs. It is apparently worked in lace with floral, animal and bird designs. Stylised line-sketches of shardula, elephant, swan, lotus and other flowers are noteworthy. Anatomically well shaped, this fine figure is characterised by feminine, youthful charm with narrow waist, swellings breasts, rounded ribs unmarked by muscles. The feet and thigh appear to be large and smooth. Interestingly enough, a miniature relief figure of Dhyani Buddha is depicted within the kirtimukha design on the karandakirita. Some of the aspects of warding off all evils appear to be depicted on the prabhavali; but only part of it in the left side remains now. Her face, though slightly disfigured (and recently retouched) shows unmistakably a serene and contemplative mood with a gentle bend of her head to the right side. She seems to be the very personification of *karuna* or compassion, which constitutes one of the main concepts of the Vajrayana Buddhism. The principle of *karuna* helps human beings in the process of evolution to become finer and attain higher before merging in the *sunya*. The reverse process of involution starts only when the Bodhi–mind is surcharged with *karuna* or compassion⁵. It is in this context that the cult–deity of Tara assumes significance.

The uniqueness of the Tara figure of Balligave lies also in the fact that on the lotus pedestal and below the left of Tara is depicted in relatively small scale, a fine figure of Nagiyakka seated cross legged and bent forward, in *anjali mudra* holding lotus with all royal majesty and devotion to Tara. She has been glorified as an undescribable pious soul. Her hair is done up into a knot with a tail like feather coming from the knot and hanging. (Hayavadan Rao's identification of Nagaraja so well connected

4. MAR 1915, p 33, 69

5. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1968, p 15.

with Buddhism and taking this seated figure with folded hands as Tara does not stand to reason in view of the above description.)⁶. This figure, therefore, is to be identified with Nagiyakka herself who caused to make the fine figure of Tarabhagavati. Not only that, Nagiyakka made a land gift for the worship of Tara and for the repairs of the Bauddha vihara in 1067. Bappura Nagiyakka, wife of Sahavasi Hampa setti (a servant of Kalyana Chalukya Trailokyamalla), must have been an influential lady of the celebrated city of Balligave and her portraiture along with favourite cult-deity also assumes importance.

Another figure of Tarabhagavati seems to have been caused to be made by Rupabhattachayya or his brother at Balligave in a slightly earlier period. But this image has not been traced yet. He also donated land to finance the worship of Tarabhagavati along with Lokeshvara, Buddha and Keshava. Rupabhattachayya was a mahapradhana, sahasasigaladhishtayaka, Badariguppe bhandari and a dandanayaka of Balligave in 1064-65⁷.

A broken image of Tara from Banavasi (Uttara Kannada) :

This has been found in my recent explorations at Banavasi. It was originally found near the Maruti temple in the Bastigalli within the fortification at Banavasi but now preserved in the temple museum. This figure may be ascribed to the early medieval period on stylistic grounds. It is similar to the figure of Tara described above in so far as the moderate ornamentation and contemplative mood are concerned. The hands and the lower parts of the figure are broken and lost.

The unique feature of the figure sculpture lies in the fact that on the five tiered karanda kirita, within the kirtimukha design is depicted a relief sculpture of Buddha seated on a large lotus - pitha in bhodana or dharma-chakrapravartana mudra. His drapery hanging on the left shoulder, *ushnisha* on the top of the head, long ears are all regular to the iconography of the Buddha of the period to which it belongs. The repetition of the lotus motifs on the kirita, parshva-chakra on either side of the kirita, an interestingly rectangular type of the ornament and a long flower garland hanging down on the shoulder from the sides of the kirita are but a few characteristic features of this figure. Her face, though not bent like that of Balligave-figure and half closed eyes convey the concept of *karuna* in an equally effective way. Even in its broken condition, this figure sculpture of Tara along with a small figure of the Buddha on the kirita, is all the more significant in the context of Banavasi which had witnessed, right from the Mauryan period, Buddhist activities.

6. MG II-i, Bangalore, 1930, p 147. 7. EC VII, Sk 170, (1065)

A careful study of these two figure sculptures of Tara along with the associated inscriptions and other Buddhist antiquities reveals that the cult of Tarabhagavati of the Vajrayana Buddhist affiliation, like the Hindu Shakti cult, commanded popularity in the early medieval period in the Balligave–Banavasi region⁸.

The figure sculpture of Tara, though youthful in general appearance, is full of compassion for the suffering humanity. She represents not only the religion of the Mother Goddess but also the Goddess redeemer. As a great Buddhist *matri*, she symbolises the female energy of *shakti* to Bodhisatvas particularly Avalokiteshvara or Lokeshvara as referred to in the Balligave inscriptions. Incidentally the figure sculptures of Avalokiteshvara from Balligave and a life size bronze of Avalokiteshvara from Kadri (Dakshina Kannada) may be mentioned here.⁹

The above review indicates that the cult/worship of Tara assumes greater importance than that of the Buddha or Bodhisatvas in the early medieval period and in the region in question. This is also confirmed by the images of Arya Tara from Kolivada with a Nagari inscription containing the invocation to Tara¹⁰, and references to Arya Tara and a fine eulogy of Tara in the Dambala inscription. Tara is also supposed to ward off all evils and hence the relevance of this cult to different sections of the society.

Our study also points to the prevalence of the cult of Tara not in isolated pockets, but in the area of the Tungabhadra basin with special reference to Shimoga–Uttara Kannada–Dharwad districts, in addition to already known Vajrayana Buddhist centre at Kadri (D. K.). The cult appears to have been patronised by such mercantile families as that of Hampasetti of Balligave, an influential merchant from Lakkundi along with other sixteen merchants associated with the Arya Tara Vihara of Dambala.

The cult of Tara does not seem to have continued with the same spirit in the late medieval period in the region under study. It was probably accommodated in the popular Hindu Shakti cult like the adoption of the Buddha as one of the *dashavataras* as seen in many of the Hoysala sculptures particularly on the prabhavali.

8. Raghunath Bhat, H. R., *Balligave, its History and Antiquities*, (unpublished), Mysore, 1981, p. 420.

9. *Kannada Studies*, No V (1967) p 67,

Gururaj Bhatt, P., *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, Manipal, 1975, p 297.

10. This figure sculpture is presently displayed in the Institute of Kannada Studies, Karnatak University, Dharwad.

BUREAUCRACY IN A DEVELOPING SOCIETY LIKE INDIA : ITS ADEQUACIES AND LIMITATIONS*

V. T. PATIL and K. P. SINGH

It is the purpose of this paper to analyse in an insightful manner the adequacies and limitations of bureaucracy in a developing society like India.

Developmental goals are set within a specific time-horizon. This involves identification of problems, fixing up of priorities, mobilization of adequate resources, creation of new organisations and implementing programmes and projects within a definite time frame. Bureaucracy has a vital role in fostering rapid socio-economic transformation. It establishes well-conceived norms of integrity and professional competence, values essential for efficient and effective crisis management. However, Indian bureaucracy operates as part of a rule-bound administrative system and within a framework of a status-bound society. Hence, bureaucracy suffers from red tape, rigidity and endless rules and regulations. It is urban-oriented and elitist in nature and significance without much relevance to the needs of vast millions of Indians living in the rural areas. Over-bureaucratisation acts as a threat to political leadership and prevents the institutionalisation of popular participation.

The following two hypotheses will be examined in this research paper :

1. In the context of a society in transition from tradition to modernity the bureaucratic system places greater emphasis on division of labour and specialisation to achieve its developmental objectives.
2. In a pre-modern society like India the bureaucracy is less institutionalised and less formalised thereby leading to immense concentration of powers in the hands of charismatic political leaders.

Whatever the form of government, bureaucracy has a role to play, at least in respect of implementation and execution of state policies. Unlike in a dictatorship or in a one party government like the USSR the role of the bureaucracy is of crucial significance. In the former there is a committed bureaucracy with centralised control and it may not have as

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much important role as in a democratic set up like India which has wrested its freedom from colonial bondage. It is common knowledge that in a parliamentary democracy, governments all over the world seek to use their incumbency to enhance their electoral prospects. This casts greater responsibility on the permanent services who are involved in the art of administration. They have the dual roles of counsellors and advisers and as agents of rapid socio-economic change. There is no doubt that public bureaucracy constitutes a basic factor in social and economic progress. In the task of nation-building, public bureaucracy can act as an instrument of change. In the context of India, political leaders involved in the freedom struggle started with an anti-bureaucratic approach but after independence they have reposed their confidence in them. On the bureaucracy depends the successful execution of public policies of national reconstruction and economic development.¹

It must be stated that the extant administrative set-up is primarily a legacy of British rule in India. The colonial rulers did not think in terms of developing a kind of administration that could bring about meaningful change. Their basic thrust was towards the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenues. Since India's independence the objectives of bureaucracy have undergone a fundamental change. The emphasis of public policy on socio-economic welfare of the population has necessitated progressive intervention in the socio-economic and other spheres as an intrinsic function in the overall process of nation-building. Bureaucracy is expected to function within a system of parliamentary democracy with its emphasis on participation of the people in the decision-making process. This throws up the question, whether Indian bureaucracy is capable of meeting the requirements of a democratic State committed to the goal of a socialistic pattern of society.

The introduction of comprehensive planning has opened new challenges as well as possibilities before the bureaucracy. The functionaries in the bureaucracy are expected to act as catalytic agents of change and development. The bulgeoning public sector calls for a new class of bureaucrats who are technocrats using sophisticated methods of administration rather than emphasis on adherence to formal rules, procedures, hierarchy and seniority. "The old bureaucratic conservatism and indifference of the civil servants, the changed system of impersonal operations of developmental programmes, the rigid adherence to formal rules, precedents and procedures must be replaced by a forward looking, change,

1. C. P. Bhambri, *Administrators in a Changing Society*, (Delhi, National, 1972), p. 43.

action and result-oriented system. The bureaucratic system should be in communication with outside groups and permit initiatives and innovations.”²

The complex contemporary civilization requires a highly organised system in which offices and authority are systematically distributed on the basis of specialised knowledge.³ The centralised bureaucracies perform a vast range of activities encompassing the social, economic and political spheres. “It is that centralised bureaucracies are examples of self-maintaining systems, which, once established become enmeshed with other institutions – their political sponsors, their clients, their application – that provide them with their work flows, their rewards, and their fields of operation. The relationship between bureaucrats and administrators, the economic structure of the State, and its political apparatus is straight forwardly systematic. They came to be indispensable to each other in the sense that they become inseparable in everyday operation because of their social, political and economic interchange . . . that tend to be indispensable and the services which they provide.”⁴

In the Indian context the functional efficiency of the bureaucracy is a *sine qua non* of its existence. The fact is that efficiency is neither adequate nor satisfactory in itself, though a very necessary value. What we need to look into is the ‘relativity concept’ within the framework of a democratic polity. It is true that the Indian masses exhibit illiteracy and ignorance, the influence of caste and sectarian forces masquerading as political operators is quite pervasive. But certainly it is quite another thing to draw relevant policy implications from such analyses. It does not require much justification to argue that Indian bureaucracy is elitist in substance and thrust which acts as a great hindrance in participative decision-making. In effect, bureaucracy becomes an inadequate instrument of policy formulation. In this respect the performance of bureaucracy is unsuccessful in many respects since it is illequipped in terms of its composition and position to perform meaningfully. The age old practices carried over from the imperial traditions and the inordinate influence of vested political interests make bureaucracy patently anti-intellectual and largely anti-developmental in form and substance.

2. R. B. Jain and P. N. Choudhari, *Bureaucratic Values in Development*, (New Delhi, Uppal Publishing House, 1982), p. 5.

3. O. Glenn Stahl, *Public Personnel Administration*, (New York, Harper and Bros, 1956), p. 8.

4. Robert Brown et. al., *Ideas and Ideologies Bureaucracy – the Career of a Concept*, (New Delhi. Arnold Hinemann, 1979), p. 145.

Rampant corruption is one of the major problems confronted by public bureaucracy in developing countries. Skilled public servants accept corruption as something integral to the system of development administration. The choice before them is very difficult since whatever they do turn out to be inconsequential or dysfunctional. Either they can apply rules and regulations to avoid corruption and in the process get alienated and frustrated or accept the inevitability of corruption and perform their duties to cater to the needs of their clients and friends thereby increasing the incidence of corruption. Abuse of public office is a common occurrence in developing societies. Bureaucratic corruption in such a contextual situation feeds and fattens on the traditional values of kinship and parochial interests. The other important reason is that in developing countries the phenomenon of too many educated people chasing too few jobs creates a situation of keen competition. In the absence of strict enforcement of laws and regulations the situation provides a good breeding ground for the development of bribery and nepotism.⁵

In recent years the role of bureaucracy has increased in leaps and bounds and today it is expected to cater to new types of work, while the nature of work has also changed considerably involving greater responsibility. The thrust seems to be on work directed towards social development involving a quantitative and qualitative change in nature, dimension and direction of its operation. In spite of these pervasive realities there is a sizeable opinion which feels that bureaucracy performs an indifferent and inadequate role. In the over-all framework of developmental economy the interaction and linkage between the functionaries in bureaucracy and the political system is imbalanced thereby creating a number of complications. It is felt that in the drive towards economic freedom and comprehensive social emancipation, bureaucracy and political administrators are not working harmoniously and in a spirit of dedication. Therefore, it is not surprising that the public develops hostility syndromes towards the administrative system in general.⁶

The Indian bureaucracy also suffers from a number of other limitations. There is the question of the nature and quantum of autonomy,

5. For a detailed discussion of the phenomena of corruption in public bureaucracies in Third World countries see, Jabbar, Joshep. G., *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, "Bureaucratic Corruption in the Third World: Causes and Remedy", Vol. XXII, No. 4, October-December, 1976, pp. 673-91.

6. D. Subramaniam, "Role of Civil Service in the Indian Political System", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2. April-June, 1971, pp. 245-52. Also see F. W. Rigg's, *Administration in Developing Countries*, (Boston, Houghton and Mifflin, 1964), pp. 243-59 and Leonord Binder, *Political Development in a Changing Society*, (Berkely, University of California, 1962),

the need to ensure public co-operation and public participation and the difficult task of exercising authority in conformity with responsibility which goes with it. There is the other issue like the attitude of the bureaucracy towards public. More often it is criticised for its "inaccessibility, exclusiveness, indifference to clientele and tendency towards authoritarianism" while in terms of attitude towards organisation, the bureaucrats function in the old groove of "rule-orientation, amateurism, centralisation and empire-building." In respect of goals, the members of bureaucracy exhibit "lack of commitment, work sharing, poly-normativism, work-shirking etc."

The bureaucrats are expected to make a major contribution for the economic development in India. They have a specific role to provide for the basic infrastructure of economic development by preparing the blue-prints of development and devising viable and dynamic strategies for speedy implementation. Eventually, it has to assess the results of its endeavour monitoring the intended and unintended consequences etc. with a view to bring about progressive development in a self-generating manner. However, Indian bureaucracy suffers from a number of dis-functionalities which makes it unequal to the tasks before it. Such factors as impersonality, complexity of documentation, inordinate delay, a tendency to mix up organisational norms with its short term and long term objectives, a tendency towards extreme conservatism and the lack of imagination and innovation as the thought and action of the functionaries in bureaucracy proceeds along routine and pedestrian manner as in the past.⁸

What has happened in India is that bureaucracy is characterised by excessive formalism which has proved counter-productive in the area of rural development because the large majority of rural population is illiterate and ignorant of government rules and regulations. It must be realised that the Weberian model of bureaucracy is rooted in an alien soil and is not very suitable for wholesale transformation in a developing society like India. The Weberian model is the product of specific historical, socio-political milieu which is not applicable to the prevailing norms

7. Hari Mohan Mathur, "Some Civil Service Attitudes Inappropriate in the Development Context : Using Training as a Correctional Device", in *The Indian Administrative System*, (Ed.), by R. K. Arora and et. al., (New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1978), pp. 84-87.

8. Ramswami R. Aiyar, "Understanding Our Bureaucracy", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 4, October-December, 1966, p. 704. And also see S. C. Dube, "Bureaucracy and Economic Development," *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 3, July-September, 1966, p. 344.

and value systems of the population in the Third World Countries. Obviously, what is required is a non-Weberian model of bureaucracy which can come to grips with development administration. This new model involves major qualitative and quantitative changes, policies, programmes, procedures and methods of work, structural innovations, scientific and functional staffing pattern, qualitatively superior administrative personnel of varied interest and the kind of relation which they develop with clients as innovators in the field of public bureaucracy.⁹

There is yet another dimension to public bureaucracy in India. It is seen that all these years there has been a persistent deterioration in the quality of commitment or dedication on the part of the members of bureaucracy. There seems to be a perceptible fall in morale at all levels of the civil service. This is best exemplified by frequent resort to strikes and other agitational methods for the redressal of their grievances. There are other variants of non-cooperation like resorting to work to rule, frequent absenteeism, wasting time during office hours, gossiping in corridors and work places, lack of concentration on work, evasion of responsibility and insensitivity to the grievances of the public, delay in taking decisions, corruption and curt behaviour with the public. All these defects clearly bring out the argument that public bureaucracy in India does not exhibit a high level of dedication consistent with the goal of a nation in transition from tradition to modernity.¹⁰

Bureaucracy in a democracy like India is subject to public criticism and therefore it is always keen to ensure a reputation for accuracy. It takes care to see that no mistakes are committed by looking at every problem from all points of view. Such a process involves considerable delay and excessive paper work in which the positive aspects are likely to be relegated to the background while on the negative side it is easily magnified beyond reasonable proportions. There is a tendency for excessive caution in taking decisions with a view to avoid mistakes which may entail severe criticisms from the public.¹¹

A new bureaucratic model needs to be carefully considered from the perspective of a Third World country like India. There has been a consistent and steady output of literature which brings out the fact that

9. See Joshep Laa, Palombra, *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, (New Jersey, Princeton University Press. 1963), p. 12.

10. See R. B. Dubhashi, "Committed Bureaucracy", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XVII, No. I, January-March, 1971, p. 35.

11. H. J. Laski, "Bureaucracy" in *Ideas and Issues in Public Administration*, (Ed.), by D. Waldo, (New York, McGraw Hill Book Company Incorporated, 1953) p. 37.

the bureaucratic form of organisation is not very much suited to the needs of development administration in India. In spite of this ongoing reality, bureaucracy is deeply ingrained in the socio-economic and political ethos of the Indian society. The reasons are two fold in nature. The past colonial experience under the British and the complexity and diversified nature of organisation that forms part and parcel of development administration. Hence, it must be stated that the bureaucratic model of administration is a very familiar model, inspite of its unsuitability. India is on the verge of building up a new society saturated with a new value system under the beneficial impact of new policies and programmes calling for major administrative reforms. In line with such an objective, development goals must be projected in a bold and innovative manner, while programmes have to be formulated with a view to speedy implementation within a definite time frame. All this involves "correct diagnosis of problems, selecting right priorities, planning action programmes, mobilizing adequate resources, creating new organisations and improving the capacity of existing ones and implementing programmes and projects within a definite time frame."¹²

Bureaucracy is not a static phenomenon but by its very nature dynamic in character. It can bring about economic development by providing for certain minimum legal and public services. It has a primary role in maintenance of law and order as well as to provide certain facilities like money, banking institutions and a legal administrative structure favourable for assuring reasonable economic development. In a sense, it has a pivotal role in ensuring a degree of stability, social integration and through an equitable distributive process usher in socio-economic reconstruction and development.

Considering the magnitude of rural poverty, the tasks performed by bureaucracy in this regard are not very satisfactory. Creative and functional programmes have not been formulated for the socio-economic development of the weaker sections in these areas. There does not seem to be a clear division of work among the various functionaries at the rural level. As such there is a chronic problem of lack of coordination. In addition to this problem the subordinate staff are expected to take orders from their superiors but in actual fact have an upper hand in the decision-making process. This topsy turvy situation disturbs the line and staff hierarchy of the bureaucracy leading to indiscipline and insubordination. It is therefore not at all surprising that quite often the priorities decided by

12. Mohit Bhattacharya, *Bureaucracy and Development Administration*, (New Delhi, Uppal Publishing House, 1979), p. 1.

the Government conflict with the priorities decided by the local leaders or local bodies, and consequently they get totally distorted, ignored and unimplemented.

In such a situation decentralisation can go a long way in transferring authority from the superior to the subordinate thereby giving justice to the latter who can come into his own. Decentralised development through partnership aims at a collective approach to community problems through cooperation and mutual confidence. In this two way linkage the local community as the clientele is the greatest beneficiary. Partnership for progress involves the breaking down of the monolithic structure. It introduces a high degree of flexibility by allowing all types of public agencies to play a constructive role in furthering community interest. At the field level, different functionaries are able to shoulder responsibility with adequate authority. Such a bureaucratic set up will neither be over-bureaucratic nor under-bureaucratic.¹³ In sum, rural development has to be planned and actively pursued within the framework of a national development model based on creative interdependence and growth of urban and rural sectors.

The officers of the bureaucracy must possess integrity of character. Whatever the difficult circumstances under which they have to operate they should be above board and beyond any suspicion like Ceaser's wife. They should adhere to basic principles without trying to accommodate the requests and wishes of everybody. They must also avoid arbitrariness in behaviour by treating all clients uniformly on the basis of equality. The officers must not allow artificial barriers to stand in the way of discharge of their duties to the rural and urban population. Obviously, the bureaucrats respect for their political masters, the observance of rules and regulations, a sense of commitment and maintenance of high standards of integrity and performance are qualities absolutely essential for achievement of developmental goals. It has been rightly said that if the bureaucrats want to serve the rural population, "you have to identify yourself with rural life; to find joy with air you breathe and association of the fact you are engaged in the art of building of a new society. You have to train people in the art of life and in the art of living. You have to see that they move, they move onward and they are not pushed onward artificially. Let them learn the art which will enable them to secure for themselves what we want them to possess. Unless you try to influence

13. M. A. Muttaliq and Mohammad, Akbar Ali Khan, *The Theory of Local Government*, (New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1982), p. 51.

without imposing something from above, your success will be short lived".¹⁴

The discussion in this paper establishes the first hypothesis, that a society in transition from tradition to modernity develops a bureaucratic system which places greater emphasis on division of labour and specialization to achieve its developmental objectives. However, our analysis so far demonstrates that in spite of division of labour and specialisation Indian bureaucracy is not able to play a very dynamic role in the achievement of its objective because it suffers from the ethos of *status quo* orientation rather than changing orientation. Mere emphasis on division of labour and specialization without corresponding attitudinal and motivational changes in the functionaries of bureaucracy cannot solve the gigantic problems of socio-economic growth. In terms of our second hypothesis, that in a pre-modern society like India the bureaucracy is less institutionalised and less formalised thereby leading to immense powers in the hands of charismatic leaders it may be stated that it is a pervasive reality. Developing countries all over the world – India not excluded – with a historical legacy of imperialism and colonialism have thrown up charismatic leaders capable of mass mobilization and mass support. It is no wonder that bureaucracy plays a subordinate or subservient role to such charismatic leaders. In such an environment bureaucracy is less institutionalised and less formalised since it always bends to the overwhelming sway of charismatic leaders. All this only means that unless traditional societies modernise themselves there is little chance of regular institutionalisation of bureaucracy. Once charismatic political leadership of the Weberian typology transforms itself into legal-rational leadership there will be tremendous scope for institutionalisation of the bureaucracy. Only then can powerful centralized bureaucracies achieve their developmental objectives.

Indian bureaucracy has so far been conscious of its neutral and non-partisan role in the governance of the country. There seems to be a gap between its exercise of authority on the one hand and peoples hopes, needs and aspirations on the other hand. The objectives of developmental bureaucracies are such that it has to bring about economic growth along with political stability. In such a scheme of things there will have to be a fundamental change in the values and attitudes of the individuals in the society. The developmental bureaucracy must provide the basic inspiration for such positive and creative thinking on the part of the people. In this connection a number of questions arise about the nature and thrust

14. G. P. Pant, "The Right Approach to the People," *Kurukshetra*, 1967.

of Indian bureaucracy. How far has Indian bureaucracy been able to perform the rapidly increasing developmental tasks ? Whether it is engaged in developmental administration which is any different from the old traditional bureaucracy ? Whether it is static or dynamic in import and significance ? Is there any relationship between its structural, operational and behavioural aspects ? If there are significant differences in these areas, have they anything to do with differences and patterns for systems of administration ? This paper has tried to find some answers to these perplexing but genuine questions in terms of the discussion of adequacy and limitations of Indian bureaucracy.

DOMESTIC POLITICS AND BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY IN INDIA

S. S. PATAGUNDI & K. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

The foreign policy is a projection of domestic policy. Foreign policy and domestic politics today have become increasingly inter-related. One of the crucial features and paradoxes of politics today is that where internal politics are conditioned and affected by world problems more than ever before, the foreign policies of nations tend to be largely dictated by the domestic experience and by the nation's image itself.¹

Acute domestic conflicts cause external insecurity for a country. Therefore, a consensus has to be evolved, at least on the procedure and the fundamentals of foreign policy, to minimise such conflicts. Bipartisan foreign policy, strengthening the consensus, accommodates the conflicts and demands involving political parties. No doubt, it does not and cannot lead to complete agreement among political parties and it does not greatly limit policy alternatives or options. However, bipartisanship widens the area of consensus on foreign policy.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the relationship between the Indian party system and the process of evolving bipartisan foreign policy. The political parties are the units of the party system, which participate in the process of consultation. It is important to analyse the foreign policy formulation of major or national political parties and its impact on consultation, which are central to a bipartisan foreign policy. The parties chosen for this study are the Congress (I) Party, the Janata Party, the BJP, the CPI, the CPM, the BJS, the Swatantra Party and Socialist Party. We have concentrated only on national political parties, because the national political parties can substantially and competitively interact with each other on various foreign policy issues in the process of consultation.

Consensus Approach

In the context of a multi-party system such as we have in India, bipartisan means, not the relationship between two parties, but between

1. Stanely Hoffmann, (Ed), "*Contemporary Theory in International Relations*", New Delhi, Prentice Hall, 1964, p. 4.

two groups of parties allied into competitive blocks – the ruling group (one party or a coalition) and the opposition group (all the opposition parties). This, however, would mean that we have to sacrifice the in-depth study of inter-party differences in each block.

H. Bradford Westerfield defines bipartisan foreign policy, “as commonly used, it has involved some measure of consultation among leaders of both major parties on foreign affairs with the object and or the result of dampening opposition on foreign policy in congress and in national elections.”² Cecil Crabb, Jr states that the term bipartisanship is a more positive word suggesting :

1. desirability of affirmative co-operation among major political groups on needed global programmes and
2. the expectation that at least a minimum degree of consultation between spokesmen for each major party will precede important undertakings in the foreign policy field.³

We conceptualise bipartisan foreign policy as a process of evolving consensus on foreign affairs by consultation between the recognised leaders of the major opposition parties and policy-makers in order to tone down debates on foreign policy issues in the security interest of a country. Here the recognised major opposition parties mean those which can substantially participate in the process of consultation with the policy makers or the ruling political elites”.

H. Bradford Westerfield identifies the following four principles of bipartisan foreign policy :

1. collaboration with an administration of opposition party would have to be delegated by their own party, not merely selected by executive authorities. The administration would have no discretion to refuse to consult sincerely with the recognised leaders of the opposition in the foreign affairs ;
2. they would have to be consulted on all major foreign policy problems to be defined by joint agreement ;
3. consultation would have to take place before any final decision was reached by a politically responsible officials of administration ;

2. H. Bradford Westerfield, “*Foreign Policy and Party Politics*”, Yale University Press, 1955, p. 12.

3. International Encyclopedia for Social Sciences, Vol. I & II, New York, Macmillan and Free Press, 1968, p. 80.

4. on those subjects where agreement was reached by consultation, the leaders of both parties would also collaborate in the use of all currently available devices of party disciplines to rally their respective cohorts behind policy decisions.⁴

In the formulation of bipartisan foreign policy a number of techniques and methods are adopted such as special meeting convened by policy-makers in order to consult with the opposition parties on foreign policy issues, or setting up of committees with representation to the opposition in order to tackle foreign policy problems, and the use of opposition party members for specific diplomatic work.

We have not given adequate attention to the problems of foreign policy making process. One of the basic problems of foreign policy making process in a democratic polity is how to democratise foreign policy formulation. The involvement of political parties is very essential to democratise foreign policy making process. Bipartisanship ensures the involvement of political parties in the foreign policy making process. The continuity of content of foreign policy basically depends on political parties. Governments have become more deeply involved and continuity from one government to the next has assumed some importance in domestic policy.⁵ The same importance should be extended to foreign policy as well. Moreover, the essence of bipartisan foreign policy is to overcome the harmful effects of partisan foreign policy. The contrasting partisan approaches to foreign policy not only endanger the international involvement or position of a country but also disrupt foreign policy consensus. Partisan approaches to foreign policy results in loss of confidence on the part of other states. In case of such approaches, a treaty signed today by a party in power may not be honoured tomorrow when another political party comes to power. This may need the removal of international issues from the arena of partisan debate.

Bipartisanship is very essential for maintaining stability, consistency and continuity in foreign policy. For this purpose, democratic systems have developed a tradition of following a bipartisan foreign policy. Therefore, the major political parties which control the political machinery, should not subordinate national interest to their party interest. National interest is a permanently guiding factor in the formulation of foreign policy. That is why foreign policy issue was never an electoral

4. H. Bradford Westerfield, No. 2, pp. 12-13.

5. Kenneth N. Waltz, "*Foreign policy and Democratic Politics*", Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1967, p. 67.

issue in India. Even in an advanced country like Britain, foreign policy matters have not been a major issue in any general election since 1945.⁶ Moreover, people generally are worried more about their bread and butter than about foreign policy issues. Of course, the interest of the involvement of the people in foreign policy depends on time and circumstances. People are more interested in foreign affairs when a country is in a crisis.

Party System

The process of evolving bipartisan foreign policy is primarily influenced by the party system. In other words, the outcome of consultation between policy-makers and the opposition is influenced by the number of parties in a party system, the strength of the parties and the pattern of competition among parties. The number of political parties reflects the power structure as also the electoral strength and parliamentary or governmental strength of the ruling party. Such strength may determine the nature of foreign policy attitudes of different political parties. If the ruling party has overwhelming strength (say, 2/3 majority) then it may not feel compelled to give much importance to the opposition. The number of political parties and the strength of parties further affect the pattern of competition. The nature of competition would influence consensus. Inter-party competition explains the area of agreement and disagreement. Such agreement and disagreement represent the degree of ideological distance between parties and this may significantly affect the outcome of the consultation between the policy-makers and the opposition.

The consensus can evolve easily in the case of two party system, because there are only two major political parties with narrow ideological distance between the two and the opposition is so strong that it has every chance of coming to power in the forthcoming elections within a system of rotation of political power between the two major parties. In a multiparty system it may be difficult to evolve consensus on foreign policy. Coalition government is one of the crucial features of a multiparty system. Coalition government is the result of compromise in ideological commitment between political parties, and thus it reduces the force of possible obstacle to building consensus on foreign policy. Our Indian party system has distinct features of its own and it is described as one party dominant system. The Indian party system has been dominated by the Congress Party since independence except for the period from 1977-1979, and the fragmented and weak opposition has

6. William Wallace, *"The Foreign Policy Making Process in Britain"*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1977, p. 113.

failed to provide an alternative to the dominant Congress Party. The opposition parties rarely get the opportunity of coming to power as in 1977, when five non-communist parties merged and came to power. The absence of such opportunity to come to power is one of fundamental reasons for the extreme policy positions of the opposition parties. As a result of this, the task of evolving consensus becomes difficult, implying the difficulty of formulating a bipartisan foreign policy.

With this conceptual background or bipartisanship, we shall discuss the individual party's perception of foreign policy.

The Indian National Congress

The foreign policy of the Congress Party has not been a sudden outcome but the result of a slow process of growth. The Congress Party expressed its foreign policy position even before independence. The Congress Party generally attempts to define foreign policy in terms of economic development and world peace. The Congress Party holds the view that international peace is an essential condition for India's economic, social and political development. However, it is one of the significant purposes of the foreign policy of every country to promote the prosperity of its own people. In the view of the Congress Party, peace is not merely absence of war or absence of fighting, and real peace cannot exist where there is any kind of tension, which may be due to innumerable factors such as political, economic, ethnic and psychological etc.

According to the Congress Party, nonalignment enables us to judge international issues on the basis of merit of each case. The Congress Party has held the view that alignment with any bloc cannot bring real strength and it can not promote the security interest of the country. Therefore, the Congress Party holds that nonalignment is a positive force for strengthening national sovereignty, independence, peace, and the stability of the international economic order. It has emphasised the anti-imperialist content of nonalignment as an essential aspect of nonalignment.

The Congress Party stands for friendly relations with all countries irrespective of their political and social systems. In foreign relations there are areas of agreement and disagreement, but we have to enlarge the area of agreement in order to strengthen friendly relations with other countries. The Congress Party believes in non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, peaceful co-existence, and equality and mutual benefit.

It is the considered view of the Congress Party that military pacts have become outdated and it strongly opposes the presence of military

forces in any part of the world. So disarmament is an important principle of India's foreign policy because it promotes international peace and security. But this does not mean that we should not have arms. We should possess arms for defensive purposes.

The Congress Party welcomed the detente in the 1970s. The Congress Party denounced the approach of the opposition towards foreign policy and stated that "the plain truth is that no alternative framework of foreign policy has ever been suggested in this country by the opposition whether left or right. It is regrettable that during the last 25 years of independence, our opposition has never been able to present a coherent picture of foreign policy they come to power"⁷.

The election manifesto of the Congress (I) in 1980, expressed its foreign policy position as follows :

1. safeguard the territorial integrity and sovereignty of India against all external threats;
2. strengthen the defence capability of India commensurate with her size, natural resources, human talent, strategic position and her long land, air and sea frontiers;
3. maintain India's dignity, self respect and national interest in international forums;
4. safeguard India's sovereign right to use nuclear technology for her development on peaceful lines;
5. adhere firmly to the policy of peaceful co-existence and the concept of nonalignment as defined by Jawaharlal Nehru;
6. forge closer relations among the countries of south Asia, the India-China states, South East Asia, West Asia, Africa and Latin America.⁸

The Communist Parties

The communists attach the highest importance to the foreign policy of their country because their outlook is based on international communism.⁹ The CPI right from the beginning held the view that imperialism is a great threat to world peace and considered the USA as an imperialist country which is the chief enemy of world peace. The CPI stands for peace, nonalignment, friendship with all, specifically with the Soviet

7. Lok Sabha Debates 14 (31), 25 April 1972, Col. 222.

8. Election Manifesto of the Congress (I), 1180, p. 25.

9. T. A. Nizami, "*Communist Party and India's Foreign Policy*", New Delhi, Associated, 1971, p. 42.

Union and socialist countries, disarmament, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial policy and support to freedom struggle. According to the CPI an independent foreign policy can be pursued only in alliance with the camp of peace and socialism and the freedom loving anti-imperialist countries of the world and in opposition to the aggressive plans of the USA and other imperialists.¹⁰

The CPI does not equate the USSR and the USA. The CPI., welcoming the emergence of detente said that the soviet union initiated this co-operation through peace programme. According to the CPI, disarmament enables the developing countries to make use of resources for their economic development, which would bring about a new international economic order. The CPI., firmly urges that the only way to improve the economy of our country is to follow the path of non-capitalist development.

The CPM., holds the view that foreign policy is a projection of internal policy and it reflects the interest of the ruling class. The foreign policy of the government of India reflects the dual character of our bourgeoisie, that is of opposition to, as well as compromise and collaboration with, imperialism.¹¹ In order to ensure that India plays its rightful role for the preservation of world peace, for peaceful co-existence and in the struggle against colonialism, the peoples' democratic government will :

1. strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity in every possible way, further develop friendly relations and co-operation with the socialist countries and all peace loving states in the interests of peace and freedom, support to all colonial peoples' struggle against imperialism ;
2. strive for peaceful co-existence among the countries with different social systems based on Panch Sheel ;
3. do everything in its power in co-operation with all peace loving forces to deliver mankind from the threat of a nuclear missile war ; demand the immediate prohibition of the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons of mass annihilation and work for the destruction of all nuclear and atomic stock piles, work for the agreements for nuclear free zones;
4. work for preventing war, for preserving peace and making it secure, work for the conclusion of a treaty on general and controlled disarmament, demand the abolition of all foreign military

10. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

11. "Programme and Statement of Policy", Adopted at VII Congress of the CPI at Calcutta, 31 October to 7 November 1964, p. 19.

bases as well as withdrawal of all foreign troops from other countries, exercise the greatest vigilance against imperialist war mongers and their intrigues and manoeuvres and inspire the masses in the spirit of such vigilance;

5. withdraw India from the British commonwealth, renounce all agreements and commitments with Britain and the USA which are against the interest of the nation or not keeping with national dignity, and
6. always make special and concerted efforts to peacefully settle the existing differences and disputes and establish friendly relations with India's neighbours Pakistan, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and China on the basis of Panch Sheel.¹²

There is no fundamental difference between the CPI and the CPM with regard to foreign policy. However, CPI and the CPM have difference on the class character of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government and its effect on foreign policy issues. According to the CPM, Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government represents bourgeois interests. The foreign policy followed by the Congress government has been playing between imperialism and socialism in order to promote the interest of the ruling class. But the CPI thinks that, after the split of the Congress in 1969, political power was shared by the forces representing the working class, peasantry, radical middle class, and patriotic non-monopolist bourgeoisie, and that the government struggles to carry out anti-imperialist policies. The CPI also felt that under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, India's foreign policy became dynamic and its anti-imperialist content became strengthened. The CPI, on the basis of this assumption, supported both domestic and foreign policies of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government until 1978.

The CPI, realised the folly of supporting the emergency only after the 1977 Lok Sabha elections. As a result of this, unity efforts between the CPI and the CPM have been initiated. In fact, the CPM was also in need of the support of the CPI to regain Kerala which it had lost in 1969, when the CPI walked over to the Congress.¹³

The characterisation of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government was a basic issue for the split of the CPI, in 1980. The communists who considered Indira Gandhi's government as democratic, anti-imperialist and progressive broke away from the CPI, and formed the All India Commu-

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

13. Mohan Ram, "The Communist Wooing Game", Indian Express, 6 May 1983.

nist Party. Even after the spectacular victory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the mid-term poll of 1980, unity efforts have continued. Now the CPI holds that Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government perpetuates bourgeois interest. Despite Mrs. Indira Gandhi's efforts to put pressure on the CPI through Moscow to support her domestic policies, the CPI continues its critical attitude to the domestic policies of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. However, the CPI and the CPM endorse the foreign policy of Indira Gandhi. Hence, "This implies that communists make a distinction between Mrs. Indira Gandhi's domestic and her Nehruvian external policies, even though Marxism does not permit such distinction".¹⁴

It appears that the CPI's attitude towards foreign policy is pro-Moscow. When India expressed its opposition to the presence of military forces in any part of the world and suggested that efforts be made to find a political solution to the Afghanistan problem, this displeased the CPI. This is the CPI's way of saying that India should identify itself completely with the Soviet position and that, in particular, Narasimha Rao's speech criticising the Russians and urging them to device a political solution was, from CPI and the soviet point of view, unfortunate¹⁵.

The Bharatiya Janata Party

At its first session, the BJP claimed that bipartisan approach to foreign policy had virtually come to an end. The BJP denounces the Congress for undermining national consensus on foreign policy in the last three decades and holds the view that the Congress (I) government had wiped off all the gains of the Janata regime. A. B. Vajpayee, delivering the presidential address of the first session of the Party in Bombay in 1980 said "in fast deteriorating international situation, India can play a meaningful role only if it expressed itself clearly and unhesitatingly against any encroachment upon the freedom of nations, any violation of frontiers and any interference in the internal affairs of other peoples. India should show some moral strength even in international relations"¹⁶ According to one source, "The BJP will adhere to the path of genuine nonalignment adopted during the Janata regime and shall pursue an independent foreign policy aimed at preserving world peace and promoting and safeguarding the enlightened self interest."¹⁷

14. J. D. Sethi, "Nehru and Communist Left", Indian Express, 27 May 1983.

15. Editorial Times of India, 21 July 1980.

16. Hindu, 29 December 1980.

17. 'BJP Statement on Communists' in A. M. Zaidi (ED), "The Annual Register of Indian Political Parties: Proceedings and Fundamental Text 1980", New Delhi, S. Chand and Col., p. 619.

The plea of the BJP was to strengthen friendly relations with immediate neighbours like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Ceylon, and Bhutan. The Janata government had attempted to create confidence in the neighbouring countries but the Congress (I) government had given up this process of improving relations with our neighbours in favour of the super-powers.

The Janata Party

The Janata Party stands for genuine nonalignment, good neighbourly policy, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, peaceful settlement of international disputes, disarmament and opposition to the politics of military bols. It also pleads for the development of friendly relations with all, specifically with developing countries in South, South East, North East and West Asia. The Janata Party firmly believes that the UNO should be strengthened as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

According to the Janata Party, the structure of national security rested on the four pillars of national integration, economic development, diplomacy and defence.¹⁸ The claim of the Janata Party was that it had strengthened these four pillars, and it urges the improvement of our relations with neighbours through the path of genuine non-alignment. It also wants to modernise the armed forces to gain self-sufficiency and self-reliance in equipments. The emphasis of 1977 and 1980 election manifestos of the Janata Party emphasised strongly the issue of defence. It argued, "A constructive and imaginative foreign policy was a country's defence".¹⁹ The Janata Party advocated superior training to the armed forces to enable them to make full use of modern equipments. It also urged a review of the emoluments, conditions and the general welfare of the armed forces, and wanted special attention paid to ex-servicemen.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh

The foreign policy of the BJS was guided by its approach to defence. The Jana Sangh gave top priority to defence in its foreign policy, and wanted to promote the enlightened self-interests of the nation i.e. welfare and progress of the country. The Jana Sangh was of the opinion that it was not possible to achieve permanent peace so long as there existed political slavery, economic exploitation and social discrimination. It firmly held the view that if one wanted to live freely and honourably,

18. The Janata Party Election Manifesto of 1980, p. 27

19. "The Janata Party Election Manifesto of 1977" in S. L. Shakadhar (Ed.), "The Sixth General Election to Lok Sabha", New Delhi, Oxford and IBH, 1977, p. 44.

it was essential to have military and economic strength. To prepare the nation both morally and physically in this direction, the Jana Sangh urged compulsory military training both for men and women on a nationwide scale and it also pleaded for intensive military training for two years in all colleges and the provision of a course of 'military science' in the Universities. It wanted to strengthen the armed forces and equip them with latest arms.

The BJS stood for nonalignment, friendly relations with all countries, co-operation with the UNO, giving moral support to freedom struggle, gaining a permanent seat for India in the security council, and encouraging the Afro-Asian countries to exert their influence in favour of world peace. The Jana Sangh regarded both China and Pakistan as natural enemies of India.

The Swatantra Party

The attitude of the Swatantra Party on foreign policy was influenced by its anti-communist view. It asserted, "If the government of India did not recognise that communism was the main enemy of democracy it was living in a blind world".²⁰ According to the Swatantra Party, non-alignment lost its meaning after the Sino-Indian and India-Pakistan war, and our foreign policy had to be reviewed in accordance with the new international scene. The Swatantra Party denounced the opposition of the Congress Party to military alliance. Therefore, the Swatantra Party regarded that a proper defence alliance with a reliable power was not only expedient but also legitimate.²¹ The Swatantra Party in one of its resolutions stated, "while accepting the principle of non-alignment with power blocs the party felt that the government had in practice aligned itself on almost all occasions to the determinant of national security and established a partisan relationship with the soviet union to the determinant of our self interest".²²

According to the Swatantra Party, China was a menace to freedom in Asia. So it appealed for building up a system of regional security by South and South East Asian countries. The Swatantra Party felt that Indo-Pakistan friendly relations were essential in the interest of the security of the subcontinent.

20. Lok Sabha Debates, 45 (8), 19 November 1970, Col. 266.

21. Election Manifesto of the Swatantra Party 1967, p. 17.

22. "India's Only Hope, Swatantra Party Restated", Adopted on 15 April 1973 by the Sixth National Convention, Madras, p. 12.

The Socialist Party

The foreign policy of the Socialist Party was basically influenced by its advocacy of establishing world government. It urged the establishment of a world based on equality, freedom and peace. The Socialists reiterated that the UNO should be strengthened in the interest of the entire world. According to the Socialists the UNO was weak because of the dominance of the powerful states. Hence it advocated the revision of the structure of the UNO arguing that the permanent membership of the UNO and veto power should be abolished.

The Socialists wanted to establish world government in which the world Parliament made legislation for the entire mankind. The Socialists stood for friendly relations with all countries and support for freedom struggle. They held the view that the government of India should conclude non-aggression pacts and treaties enduring friendship with as many as possible and also achieve a net work of regional alliances including East Asian countries, the Arab League, our western neighbours and others.²³ The Socialist Party criticised both capitalism and communism. So it believed in genuine non-alignment which enabled India to judge international issues on the basis of merit. It also urged that the third world should be given a new meaning and content. It pleaded for the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons and for the establishment of a world which should be free from arms rule. According to the Socialists, India and Pakistan should form a confederation in order to solve their problems.

Foreign Policy Making : Process and Machinery :

The foreign policy making process is not institutionalised in India. Existing institutions like the consultative committee function as a forum of elaborating and justifying the foreign policy decisions already announced. Though Jawaharlal Nehru was a dominant figure in foreign policy formulation, he used to consult the opposition recognising its views. Nehru was always in search of consensus and he took note of the opposition irrespective of the number of votes he had.²⁴ Lal Bahadur Shastri was also seeking the views of the opposition on foreign policy issues. The national consensus was disturbed from 1973 onwards. The failure of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to arrive at the consensus was one of the significant factors behind her decision to impose the emergency. So far no significant attempt has been made to win the confidence of opposition.

23. Policy Statement of the Socialist Party, 1951, pp. 36-37.

24. K. P. Karunakaran, "India's Foreign Policy : A Review Article", *India Quarterly* 39 (2), April-June 1983, p. 203.

The participation of opposition in foreign policy formulation has been very poor. This is evident from the debates and discussions in the parliament. Now the question arises, why the participation of the opposition is so poor? The fundamental reason is that the political parties are not well informed unless the political parties are well informed, they cannot participate meaningfully in the debate and discussions on foreign policy issues. One of the crucial functions of every political party is to inform its members very well in various public affairs. But the Indian political parties in their party meetings, sessions and conventions do not have extensive discussions on foreign policy issues though formerly they pass resolutions on international situation and foreign policy issues. Moreover the political parties do not have research cells on foreign affairs within the parties. Though the Congress Party and communist parties have foreign affairs departments but the functioning of the department is not satisfactory.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that the search for a genuinely bipartisan foreign policy must be intensified, and the Nehru tradition of consensus-building should be restored. One hopeful aspect of the situation is that there are no fundamental disagreements on foreign policy, and whatever quarrels a particular opposition party may have with the ruling party, seem to be concerned with details or specific emphasis. Hence, the basic problem is that the style of functioning of the Government, especially its policy formulation style, tends to minimise the importance and role of the opposition. Therefore, the opposition parties want a greater share in the policy-making process, as part of their conception of democracy. The style of functioning of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is different from Mrs. Indira Gandhi's and it appears that he is sincerely attempting to revive the Nehru tradition of consensus building on both domestic and foreign affairs.

Bipartisan foreign policy raises the following Questions :

1. Do the opposition parties have to accept the prevailing foreign policy in the national interest of the country?
2. Should the political parties share credit or failure in foreign policy? If so, how?

GENERATION GAP: ATTITUDINAL COMPARISON OF YOUNG AND OLD PARENTS WITH THEIR CHILDREN

P. S. HALYAL & K. R. MALLAPPA

Introduction :

Modernization, industrialization, urbanization, the spread of education, increased geographical mobility, influence of mass media and overall rapid social changes have led to the emergence of highly differentiated age groups. It is true that the differences in attitudes, values and behaviours between young and old are not of recent origin but the magnitude of the difference is greater today than it was formerly, due to the vagaries of modernization. In recent times the intergenerational differences have become more conspicuous as society moves at much faster rate than in the past. In this fast changing society the youth is reared in a milieu very much different from that of their parents (Tolor, 1976; Armstrong and Scotzin, 1974; Gallagher III, 1979; Halyal, 1984; Gangrade, 1975; Halyal and Mallappa, 1985).

Youth is an universal phenomenon and defined as a bio-social age stratum in society. The period of youth is the period in which "the individual is no longer a child (especially from physical and sexual point of view) but is ready to undertake many attributes of adult roles" (Eisenstadt, 1973). This is the stage at which the young acquire new values and ideology to emulate them in adult life. In every society youth are radically influenced by social change (Flacks, 1971; Keniston, 1971; Coleman, 1978). The attitudes, values and beliefs of old people are more or less set unlike those of youngsters whose attitudes are in state of formation. Due to rapid social change youth grow in an environment much different from the one in which their parents grew. Today the two generations – young and old – belong to different but profound socio-cultural events of our society. The present day youth and their parents represent different biological and socio-cultural generations. And the generational differences are obvious when the new forces of modernization shook the traditional societies. In our society today along with the other agents of modernization education has created a new breed of educated youth against vast majority of un-educated and comparatively old people (Cormack, 1960; Shah, 1964; Damle, 1970; Halyal and Mallappa, 1986).

A number of researchers have studied the intergenerational differences in the traditional v/s non-traditional dimension of attitudes by using high school and college students and comparing them with their parents (Tolor, 1976; Hamid and Wyllie, 1980; Gallgher, III, 1979; Jacobsen, Berry and Olson, 1975; Armstrong and Scotzin, 1974). Many of them have been directed specifically towards the measurement of attitudinal modernity across three generations of the same family line (Fengler and Wood, 1972; Payne, Summer and Stewert, 1973; Gallgher, 1979). The intergenerational differences may be due to either changes in the educational levels within the families or to differing social conditions affecting families. The differences are greater between the children and their grand parents than between children and their parents. Fengler and Wood (1972) suggest that age consistently contributes to the explanation of generational differences in values and attitudes, even when controls on non-age variables are applied. However, the significance of age difference between children, their parents and their grand parents is not conclusively indicated and they summarise that the greater gap of all was between children and their grandparents.

The researchers are suggesting to investigate further the definite role of the age difference between children and their parents in producing the intergenerational differences. Thus it is hypothesised that the smaller the age-difference between the two generations the narrower the gap, the larger the age difference the wider the generation gap. The greater difference of time will expose the two generations comparatively to more different socio-cultural milieu which is consequent of rapid social change.

Methodology :

The present study draws a sample of college students and their both the parents from Dharwad city. The age range of these third year degree students consisting of 84 boys and 105 girls is from 19 to 23. The age range of the fathers of these students is from 40 to 69 and mothers are from 35 to 64 years. The sample is drawn from wide social and family background. The students and their parents are contacted at their homes and the modernity scale is administered individually.

Modernity Scale :

The modernity scale is a five-point Likert type scale with four dimensions, namely, (1) Personality modernity, (2) Socio-cultural modernity (3) Political modernity, and (4) Health modernity. Each dimension has five themes. The score range is 100 to 500. The scale originally developed

by Department of Psychology, Ranchi University, is translated in Kannada and adapted to the local conditions. The dimensions of the scale are positively intercorrelated.

Results and Discussions :

The low and high scores on modernity scale represent traditional and modern attitudes on traditional - modern continuum respectively. The person who scores higher on modernity scale is getting away from the parental authority, kinship web, traditional communities, caste mind-
edness, fatalistic orientation and ascribed status in society. He believes more in peer group, secular and acievistic orientations. An attempt is made to examine the extent of generation gap, the mean score differences of students and their parents, are obtained. The differences of mean modernity scores of children and their parents are called "generation gap scores". These scores will suggest the extent of gap between the two generations on total modernity. It is clear from the results that the children generation's scores are higher than that of their fathers and mothers. The youth have developed more positive values and attitudes than their parents. The parents are still guided by traditional conservative values which are detrimental for the growth of society.

TABLE-I
Generation Gap Scores on Total Modernity

Students (19-23 years)	Fathers Age Groups						
	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65 & above
N = 189	—	3	40	67	47	18	14
Mean=368.35		329.66	360.35	345.66	336.87	320.94	313.85
S : F	—	38.69	8.00	22.69	31.48	47.41	54.50

Mothers Age Groups							
N = 189	17	53	73	29	9	8	
Mean=368.35	329.29	342.09	323.01	308.48	302.11	317.74	—
S : M	38.06	26.26	45.01	59.87	66.24	50.61	—

Table-1 displays the generation gap scores of children and their fathers who fall in different age groups. There are only three fathers who belong to the age group of 40 to 44 years. The mothers age range starts at a little lower age i.e. from 35 to 39 years. Fathers and mothers have

scored less than that of their children. The generation gap scores clearly indicate that the increase in the age difference of children and the parents has created greater cleavage. The higher difference of modernity in the first category of age group in both fathers and mothers may be due to the less number of persons falling in that category. However, the trend is very clear that the older parents are comparatively more traditional than the younger parents. This is true in all the dimensions of modernity, but the difference is greater in socio-cultural modernity.

TABLE-II
Comparison of Children and Parents on Modernity

Children	Fathers Age Groups						
	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65 & above
N = 189		3	40	67	47	18	14
Mean=368.35	—	329.66	360.35	345.66	336.87	320.94	313.85
SD=45.50		54.26	49.05	50.35	49.14	51.53	43.04
t =		1.53	1.04	3.53**	4.34**	4.36**	4.55**

Children	Mothers Age Groups					
	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & above
N = 189	17	53	73	29	9	8
Mean=368.35	327.29	342.09	323.01	308.48	302.11	317.74
SD = 45.50	42.44	52.62	54.45	47.16	31.19	41.42
t =	3.75**	3.71**	7.05**	6.85**	4.53**	3.37**

Table-2 shows the means, SDs and t values. The obtained t-values for the age groups of 40-44 and 45-49 of fathers are not significant. This indicates that the magnitude of the modernity differences between these young fathers and their children are not significant enough to warrant the existence of generation gap. However, the latter age groups of fathers would certainly indicate the existence of generation gap. The children have significant differences with their mothers. But these differences are more with the old mothers than with the young mothers (table-1).

The present investigation indicates the fact that the greater age difference between the children and their parents would induce an increased generational difference. The older parents are more traditional than the younger parents because the social milieu to which they have been exposed

during their socialization period is much different from that of the younger due to rapid social change. The social change may be gradual but its impact would be cumulative. The age difference makes the younger more modern in their values, attitudes and beliefs than those of their older parents. The old parents still persist with traditional conservative values and are unable to break away from the constraints of traditions and superstitions in which they are deep rooted. Because the social values were much different than the present when they were shaping their personalities during their youth. Now the time has produced wider changes in the values and life styles of people. The age-differentiated groups have different experiences, different socio-economic, political and historical conditions which naturally influence their thinking and behaviour. The greater the age difference larger the differences in these conditions. Consequently youth have been sensitized to modern attitudes and values than their older parents who are comparatively lived in traditional culture much different from the culture wherein young are socialized. This becomes more obvious with the increased age differences between the generations in rapid social change. Hence the existence of generation gap indicates the basic changes in the attitudes and values of young generation and the gap is visible with the older parents than with the younger once. The changed socio-cultural conditions have contributed more fuel to the modernity differences between the young and old.

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A STUDY OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS PURCHASE OF TEXTILE FABRICS

K. R. MALLAPPA & S. T. SAWKAR

Introduction :

Food is one of the basic needs and once this need is satiated the next basic need in the order of importance according to Maslow, is security which protects him against the elements and also give him a special status in the society. Another basic need is clothing. Besides covering one's body against elements and one's own modesty, clothing goes a long way in projecting one's social image.

Over the centuries the textile fabric has undergone dynamic changes from its primitive form of fig leaves to today's most sophisticated synthetic fabrics. Needless to say, civilization has added new dimension to textile fabric i.e. fashion, so much so the word fabric has become synonymous to fashion. It is aptly said that "it is the tailor that makes a man gentle man". This refers to the fashion as well as the fabric material.

The Textile Industry and Trade :

The history of Indian Textile goes back to several centuries before Christ (B.C.) when it was at it's zenith of glory. Cotton garments were known to be in use in India around 445 B.C. when civilization had not even dawned in many of the modern day developed countries of the west. It is said that the 'Woven Wind' of Dacca was made of 400 count and a sari larger than required for a woman could be drawn through an ordinary finger ring. This only explains the fitness in looming attained by the textile craftsman of those days. Indian Calico was so popular in England at one time (18th century), that Manchester made a futile attempt to compete with India on fair price trade principles. India today, is the third largest textile manufacturer in the world and is one of the very few countries with global franchisers.

Towards distribution of a consumer product the manufacturer always follows a well established trade channel consisting of distributor/stockist/wholesaler and the retailer in order to reach the products to the ultimate user (consumer). The system not only helps the manufacturer towards proper distribution of the product but also enables him to control and enforce uniform pricing pattern.

Additionally, the manufacturer deputes his own sales squad to actively participate in the distribution process, keep strict vigilance on price and also establish closer support which the trade. Lastly, the system helps the manufacturer towards getting the information that would be useful to him, the trade and the consumer, monitored to him regularly.

However, in textiles, the control by the mills over the distribution and pricing seem to terminate as soon as the product reaches the wholesaler who turns out to be the main force behind the textile trading system. Further, in the absence of mills involvement in the trading (either directly or through their sales force which no mill has) they have not been able to form any rapport with the retailer nor could they enforce any pricing policy. Under this trading system, the wholesaler virtually becomes the kingpin on whom the mills have to depend for selling their fabrics. With the loss of control over distribution and pricing, the consumers not only get exploited but also mills lose a very valuable leverage to enforce their market thrust. It is known that between the wholesalers and the retailer there are many middlemen like semi-wholesalers and brokers.

It is also known that wholesalers also provide information and guidance regarding contemporary fashion trends and there are a few wholesalers who seem to give financial back-up to the manufacturers.

The attempts by the mills to set up authorised retail outlets in spite of the better trade margin do not seem to succeed because too many conditions on the franchise holding retailers off-setting the benefit of higher margins.

METHODOLOGY

Market research is mainly employed to evaluate qualitatively the nature and the depth of a given problem without any quantitative sanction. The findings of such study are generally more indicative of the nature of the problem and are not treated as conclusive.

Qualitative research generally attempts to study the consumer behaviour and the motivating factors which generate such behaviour. It is however believed that qualitative research does throw-up certain pointers relating to any given problem and help in identifying those areas which need further probing. The qualitative research mainly attempts to follow the depth of the problem and tackle data compilation at the respondent's level though one or combination of the following techniques.

1. In-depth discussion with the respondents.
2. In depth discussion through group meeting (group discussion)
3. Projective techniques.

DATA COLLECTION :

For this study depth interview technique has been employed to extract relevant data by using checklist containing each and every dimension of the overall research objective. Every respondent was interviewed personally in a private room at his/her residence with prior appointment. In very few cases, some were interviewed in restaurants and to maintain the privacy, the interview was held in small cabins. After establishing sufficient rapport with the respondents, one by one the questions were asked and the responses were recorded. The main technique in depth interview is that the respondent is given full freedom to express his/her views. However, if it was felt, the responses given by him/her are not related to the study, the moderator brings back the respondent towards the point, without disturbing his/her flow of thought. Sometime, it was unavoidable to listen and record the responses which were not at all connected to the study in order to encourage the respondent when he/she is responding emotionally. Later, while re-writing the responses for the purpose of analysis, they were eliminated and only relevant views are retained. Whenever it was felt that the quantity of information was inadequate or very superficial further probe was made to fill the blank. At times little more explanation became necessary against some of the questions like 'What do you feel about our government policy ?' or 'what is your opinion about present textile advertisement ?' etc. Here a few secondary questions were asked relating to the media, type of advertisements, usefulness of spending on advertisements ? Does he/she have anything to suggest ? etc.

SAMPLING :

In qualitative study a small sample is generally selected. Thus twenty respondents were included in the sample frame.

	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Number</i>
1)	Male	10
2)	Female	10

CONDITIONS : (Eligibility of respondent) :

- 1) Should have purchased textile fabric within the past six months.
- 2) Should have purchased Suiting/Trouser (Men) expensive series (women) to be used personally in the past six months.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Modernisation, sophistication and personality cult are some of the distinctive manifestation of civilization and every individual aspires to achieve this prestigious status by fully exploiting all the available avenues and opportunities that he is likely to come across. While wealth and

affluence is the harder way of climbing up in the social status restored for a lucky few, going fashionable through trendy, sophisticated and mod garments and apparels has been the easier tried successfully by every person, to attract attention and achieve social status.

The findings of the research seem to provide substance (conducted in Bombay recently) in this behalf. The study attempted to his/her cloth and clothing to achieve higher social status.

The basic and the most important need of clothing is to cover one's modesty. However, clothing seem to have acquired importance far beyond the realm of basic need and function.

People by and large associate cloth and clothing with :

- projection of personality
- achieving social status
- as a part of fashion

since the respondents belonged to sophisticated upper class strata, it was not surprising that the above attributes have found strong from them.

FEMALE

- Dress partly projects the personality of an individual
- The way one dresses and the dress material one uses, adds to the personality of an individual.
- Well dressed lady tends to be more sophisticated and well mannered.
- Mod dress adds to one's status.
- I care much to dress as it projects personality.
- My attitude towards others are much dependent on their dress.

MALE

- One can camouflage one's personality by dress.
- Good dress creates good impression and adds to personality.
- Apparel-oft-proclaim the man; there exists good correlation between personality and dress.
- I do not like to talk to shabbily dressed person.
- Dress depends on personality.
- Sound personality initiates to spend optimum on dress.
- I consider dress to assess one's personality

The research revealed a distinct dichotomy in the attitude towards clothing among younger and older generation; while the younger people consider dress from fashion view point, the older generation attach social status.

The following are some of the observations :

Younger Respondents :

- All the examples mentioned in the above (earlier) paragraph hold true to this group.

Older Respondents :

- Clothing does not depict one's character.
- All types of people go for good and stylish clothes irrespective of wealth.
- Good dress alone can not impress others.
- Dress is to cover body, of-course decently.
- One should not be crazy of clothes.
- Rich people go for high quality cloths.
- One's personality should not be estimated on one's dress.
- Over importance to dress is not necessary.

Attitude towards advertisement :

It has been found from the research that the attitude of the respondents towards current spending on textile advertising and publicity is one of disapproval.

Following specific reactions are interesting :

- It is a waste.
- It should be diverted for some other purpose.
- It is a taxation on the consumers.
- Ultimately, corporate advertisements using models can only attract share investors.
- Fifty percent of the money is wasted only to build corporate image, etc.

Few people showed favourable opinion by saying that spending a hung amount on advertising is worth and necessary on the part of mills.

However, the research brought out that publicity campaign by the mills had little or no impact in creating purchase intent or wider franchise. Thus it would become relevant to mention here, whether advertisers of textile fabric should think in terms of re-channalising the present advertising budget to create greater purchase intent among consumers through sales subsidy, lowering price.

The qualitative study reveals various factors which go into the choice of a fabric. The following are some of the important and common motivating, purchase factors found in the study. The price, the blend crease resistance, texture purity of the yarn, colours, prints, sanfrisation,

past experience, fashion of the day, one's profession, density of the material (most of the consumers prefer lighter materials). The most important and very common factor noticed was, the price and the least and unimportant factor is the company's name which produce clothes. By this one can conclude that mill name or brand name does not become an inducement factor.

The reactions towards the trading and the Government policy, the following are the few responses.

- I do not know much about the trade or distribution pattern.
- There exists a vast racket in textile trade (system involving too many intermediaries with the result consumers are cheated).
- Producers should be aware of consumer's problems.
- Mills should sell their products through their exclusive shops at reasonable price.
- Instead of squandering money on advertisements in India, they should try to capture export market.

Regarding the government policies, every one struck a note of discontent and expressed their unhappiness. They demand control, price fixation and printing of the price on the cloth itself made mandatory through law and legislation. Most of the respondents have suggested removal of tax on the materials which are consumed by poorer class.

Further quantitative aspect on consumer behaviour towards textile fabrics with the following objectives was done. A questionnaire was prepared for the purpose.

1. (a) To determine the extent of importance given to various product attributes while selecting a fabric.
- (b) To determine the factors that influenced the latest purchase of textile fabrics.
2. To determine the factors generally influencing the choice of a textile fabric.
3. To determine consumers' attitude towards cloth and clothing.
4. To determine awareness of various textile mills; awareness of textile advertisements as well as medial identification.
5. To determine the degree of association of the textile advertisements (Press) with the relevant bill.

A total of eighty respondents equally divided between men and women were interviewed (conditions for the eligibility of the respondent were same as in qualitative research). In order to give wider disperation

to the study, the respondents were drawn from different parts of the city of Greater Bombay.

The respondents were contacted personally at their place of convenience through prior appointments. After a proper introduction and some casual talk (to establish rapport) the purpose of study was explained and then the questionnaire was administered. Since the test was very small in size it hardly took ten minutes to complete the investigation (for each respondent). The last question was a little elaborate so much so the moderator had to show twenty different press advertisements randomly one after another. The respondents were asked to mention the mill's name they could identify with advertisements. This blind test was appreciated by every respondent and this unique research technique was liked by one and all.

The analysis of the data reveals the following factors given in the following table influencing the selection of textile fabrics.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Shade/colour	83%	74%	79%
Texture	67%	72%	69%
Design/print	59%	70%	64%

From the above table it appears that both men and women attach highest importance to shade/colour, while choosing a fabric. Texture/print has also drawn considerable importance in the choice of a fabric.

The third important factor emerged from the study was the cost of fabric. The blend of the fabric does not seem to play any major role in influencing the choice of a fabric.

The name of the mill appears to be having contributory influence and not absolute influence, if one has to go by research findings.

The factors which had influenced the respondents while choosing the fabric during their most recent purchase are following.

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Light shade/colour	73%	78%	65%
Dark shade/colour	36%	35%	37%
Past experience	65%	65%	66%
Cost	60%	58%	63%

It is obvious from the above table that shade/colour of lighter variety was the most important product property that the respondents were looking for, while choosing the fabric. The next important factor

curiously enough turned out to be dependance on their previous experience (65%).

The third factor which had influenced the respondents was the cost of the factors blend, fashion trend, Mills name, shop-keeper influence did not seem to have much impact on the consumer. From the two tests it becomes obvious that the consumers choice, a fabric is influenced by the factors like shade, texture and design/print : The other consideration was the cost.

A rank correlation was computed between the results obtained under hypothetical situation and actual situation against following product property attribute :

Light shade/colour is the prime factor in the choice of a fabric in terms of degree of importance under both the situations. A rank correlation test computed for degree of stability index between the two results yield stability index 0.93 which means that shade/colour would be of highest importance. The cost factor, which formerly established brought out 0.91 stability index shows that price of the fabric is also, an important factor while choosing a fabric. Thus it would not receive the expected consumers franchise because of high cost. Lack of importance of mill's name has been established by the test.

The research attempted to findout respondents reaction towards various attributes associated with textile fabric and dressing habit. Following attributes were tested. Each attribute was read out to respondents, and he/she was asked where he/she agrees or disagrees with that attribute. Following are the broad findings.

	Those Agree		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Good dress is a must a part of fashion :	50%	50%	50%

It is clear from the above (irrespective of sex) that one half of the respondents seem to agree that dress is a must as a part of a fashion. In other words only half of the consumer would consider that good dress is a must as a part of fashion.

Regarding the attributes

	Those Agree		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Good dress adds to one's personality	94%	90%	98%

There is a total agreement among the respondents regardless of sex that, good dress adds to one personality.

A similar attitude, though to a lesser extent (total=74%, Male=68%, Female=81%) is shown about the attribute 'good dress adds to one's social status'.

Fiftyseven percent of the male and female respondents agree with the statement that 'good dress gives modern and sophisticated look' while 43% disagreed. It is clear that the positive overtone has slight edge over the negative reactions.

49% of respondents felt that 'good dress is essential for career conscious people', while 46% disagreed. The trend of disagreement emerged more among men (53%) than women (40%). The attribute, 'Mainly career conscious people, rich and sophisticated go for good dress', has received clear negative vote from the respondents, (Male=70%, Female=70%). In other words, the general view is that good dress is not necessarily meant for career conscious of rich and sophisticated people but is desired by everyone.

Yet another attribute "good dress aspirations" received an unfavourable reaction from the respondents (Male=60%, Female=75%). In other words, people by and large believe that good dress has not more than fashion value but also necessary from social and career point of view.

The respondents were asked to recall the textile advertisements which they had seen/heard in the part six months and also the source of those advertisements. While large number of mills advertisements were recalled only following seven mills recorded higher level of spontaneous recall—

<i>Mill</i>	<i>Male</i>
Vimal....	75%
Raymonds....	63%
Gwalior....	45%
Binny....	45%
	<i>Female</i>
Bombay Dyeing..	59%
Vimal....	59%
Khatau....	48%
Mafatlal....	38%

It is obvious from the above table that the advertisements of mills like Vimal, Raymonds, Gwalior and Binny had better impact on men than women.

The advertisements of mills like Bombay Dyeing, Vimal, Khatau and Mafatlal had greater impact among women than men.

Only Vimal advertisements appear to have had impact on both men and women with some degree of consistency. Communicating with the wider segment of target consumers, through press advertisements seem to have been achieved to some extent by some of the mills.

The research attempt to evaluate the impact of different media towards the awareness of mills advertisement. Following are the major findings—

<i>Mills</i>	<i>Magazines</i>
Khatau	84%
Vimal	82%
Bombay Dyeing	82%
Mafatlal	71%
Tatas	70%
Gwalior	54%
Raymonds	52%

Obviously magazine has been the most effective press media towards creation of the awareness of brand/mills name. In the case of Vimal (63%) Bombay Dyeing (53%) Raymonds (55%) Gwalior (81%) newspaper too contributed towards creation of awareness of the name of the mill. In fact, in the case of Gwalior it is news paper which is more effective than the magazine. Bombay Dyeing and Vimal were also aided to some extent by Cinema campaign.

The impact of Radio and Television has been consistently low for all the mills. The reason for this low awareness could be :

- Less advertising through these media.
- Inadequate ownership of Television/Radio sets.
- Too many advertisements (textile as well as other products clustered together and shown/broadcast within a short interval).

An attempt was also made to findout respondents ability to identify the mills by looking at the press advertisement cuttings. For this purpose, two different magazine advertisements of Vimal, Raymonds, Gwalior, S. Kumar, Khatau, Modella, Mafatlal, Moorarji and Jeeyaji mills were shown to respondents through a blind test and they were appearing in the magazine at the time of data collection. Following are the major findings.

Only the following mill's advertisements had a correct identification which is above the standard identification level.

*Mills advertisements**Correctly Identified in percentage*

		<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Vimal advertisement	A	30	38	35
Khatau	„ A	34	33	35
Khatau	„ B	21	13	30
Raymonds	„ A	21	30	13
Raymonds	„ B	16	20	13

Respondents ability to identify the mills through the advertisements found to be low to insignificant. Only Vimal advertisement 'A' and Khatau advertisement 'A' seem to have succeeded to some extent in creating awareness through the press campaign. The alternate advertisement of Vimal fell flat with only 9% identification. In other words, the layout of the advertisements did not possess the punch for deeper penetration. Advertisements of following mills pronouncedly recorded higher wrong identification (above the standard level).

*Mills advertisements**Wrongly identified in percentage*

		<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Jeeyaji Advertisement	A	36	40	33
Moorarji	„ B	34	30	38
Mafatlal	„ A	30	40	20
Mafatlal	„ B	30	25	35
Vimal	„ A	30	23	38

Only the advertisements of Khatau (10-16) Raymonds (16-24) S. Kumar (20-0) Gwalior (23-24) Jeeyaji (23-0) recorded a wrong identification which was below the standard level. However, this should not be taken as a plus point because most of these advertisements remained unidentified. The reason for the low incidence of identify of the advertisements could be due to cumulative effect of low level readership and intensity of press campaign by the mills.

Following advertisements had dubious record of registering a very low level of identity either correct or not (far above the standard level).

*Mills advertisements**Unidentified advertisement in percentage*

		<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Jeeyaji Advertisement	A	78	80	75
S. Kumar	„ A	76	75	78
Gwalior	„ A	74	83	65
Gwalior	„ B	74	75	73
Modella	„ A	72	68	75
Moorarji	„ A	70	65	75

Two advertisements were dropped from the calculation because of every low identification.

Correctly identified	10	11	10
Wrongly identified	25	24	26
Not identified	65	65	64
Base	1440	720	720

In order to measure the performance of each mill, a standard parameter table was prepared as follows :

Total advertisements exhibited	18	18	18
Sample	80	40	40
Aggregate exhibit (18 × 80)	1440	720	720

All mills exhibit a specific logo as a mark of identification of their product. The research attempted to find out respondents awareness of the logo of Gwalior. A cut out of this logo was shown to the respondents and they were asked, to which Mill the logo belongs ?

The findings were startling, because not even a single respondent could associate it with Gwalior mill. Added to that, more than 90% of respondents associated the logo with Raymonds. This could be because, the logo contains the letter 'R', which is the starting alphabet of Raymonds. Curiously enough, hardly anybody could remember Raymonds trade mark. This occurrence is not in the interest of Gwalior who have been extensively advertising in the past few months to get the name of Raymonds planted in the minds of consumer because of the style of the logo.

OBSERVATION

Regarding press advertisements campaign, the major conclusion (which could be true to the press advertisements of all the mills) is that they have totally failed to register awareness of the mills name in the minds of consumers (except Vimal advertisement A not identified, Male-35%, Female-40%). Fact is that the earlier part of research had brought out considerably high level of awareness of the mills (question relating to spontaneous recall of the mills advertisements) included in the list, one wonders whether press advertisements lacks the substance needed to create an unfailing memory of the mills name in the minds of consumers.

Another noteworthy findings of the research is the wrong identification of the advertisement with the mills. The fact that research recalls 25% wrong identification one can understand. The extent of confusion press

advertisements are creating. Similarly, between advertisements without any exclusive or unique creativity must also be adding to the confusion.

The fact that 13%(46) of respondents identified one or the other advertisement shown, with Bombay Dyeing 6%(21) with Binny and 42%(47) with number of other mills not included in the list of mills under test only establishes the degree of confusion the textile advertisements have been creating. Since research has already proved that the name of a mill is a factor of very low consideration, (while choosing a fabric) ineffective press campaign (which has had only confusion value), is not likely to help promoting the name of the mill or create definite purchase intent.

The mills would be well advised to revamp the media strategy and create an unique press campaign that could not only penetrate the consumer body but also create a lasting impact, unless creativity in textile advertisement has reached the dead end.

The present advertisement campaigns (with so many in the field) with very little variety have dilutary effect rather than promotional impact.

One proven example of the confusion is that the trade mark of Gwalior mills was thought to be of Raymonds by the respondents interviewed.

CONCLUSION

1. The purchase intent of a textile fabric is governed by factors like shade/colour, past experience and cost, in that order. Again shade/colour which is the foremost factor the preference is for lighter shade/colour. Name of the mill at best can be a contributory towards creating purchase intent.

2. According to research findings, good dresses are desired by every one irrespective of one's social status. contributes towards career aspirarions and position in the society; to some extent helps projection and social status.

The advertisements of Vimal Mills has been widely recalled both by men and women. Raymonds, Gwalior, Binny were mentioned frequently by men while the advertisements of Khatau and Mafatlal found frequent reference by women.

4. Among press media magazine was the most effective which is the true of most of the leading mills. The impact of cinema, Radio and the

Television is considerably less and is generally confined to a few mills like Vimal and Bombay Dyeing.

5. The over-all correct identification of the Mill through press advertisement has been very low. Only Vimal and Khatau could claim some success.

6. Wrong identification of the mill with the textile advertisements appears to be more a rule than an exception and no mill escaped the confusion. Only in the case of Khatau the position was either the advertisement escaped identification or registered identification. Barring a very few advertisements the major casualty was non-identification of the mill vis-vis that advertisement. But this could be due to low level of readership and other problem associated with readership and intensity of advertisement campaign.

7. Bombay Dyeing and Binny which were not part of panel of mills (whose advertisements were under that) were the main gainers of wrong identity. Among the mills in the panel, most of them were gainer or losers due to wrong identity.

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AS RELATED TO PERSONALITY

VIDHU MOHAN and SURENDER SINGH

Marriage is an institution which admits men and women to family life. It is a stable relationship in which a man and a woman are socially permitted to have children. Edward Westermarck (1936) defined, marriage as "more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of offspring". Marriage is essentially a deep relationship involving interaction of two personalities. The sharing of one's most intimate aspects of life with an individual who is not your blood relation, implies a cultivation of intense mutual faith, trust understanding and sharing.

Adjustment in every sense of the term is essential for any marriage. Marital adjustment has been described as a state in which the individual or the pair has a good working arrangement with reality, adulthood and the expectations of others. Burgess and Cottrell (1939) have given a highly generalized definition of a well adjusted marriage as follows : "A well adjusted marriage is a marriage in which the attitudes and actions of each of the partners produce an environment which is highly favourable to the proper functioning of personality structures of each partner, particularly in sphere of primary relationships."

Marital relationship involves interaction of two personalities. As such the personality traits of spouses are liable to play an important part in the formulation of the patterns of marital interaction. Personality has been recognised as a very important determiner of human behaviour.

Eysenck (1960) defined, Personality as "more or less stable and enduring organisation of a person's character temperament, intellect and physique which determines his unique adjustment to the environment". Kelley (1931) and Terman et al., (1938) found the traits of the happily married spouses to include emotional stability, social adaptability, uplifting interests and a tendency to conservations. Landis (1958) in a study of 409 couples, found mutual affection, understanding, willingness to give and take and co-operation, among the top five factors essential for happy marriage. Graceffa (1972) found persons with depressive personality make-up to choose inadequate marriage partners. Miranti (1981) in a study of marital adjustment and personality traits, reported

that individuals low on marital satisfaction tended to be reserved, less venturesome and more experimenting and self-sufficient. The couples scoring high on marital satisfaction possessed the following characteristics, highly satisfied females were venturesome astute and resourceful, highly satisfied males tended to be more conscientious, venturesome, self-assured, conservative, controlled and self-sufficient.

Eysenck (1968) described extraversion as impulsive behaviour with sociable tendencies and introversion as controlled and responsible behaviour. Some studies have been conducted which throw light on the relationship between marital adjustment and extraversion/introversion. Zaleski and Galskowska (1978) found that there were no significant differences in marital adjustment in relation to extraversion/introversion. In a comparison of married and divorced couples Eysenck (1980) found extraversion score to be higher in divorced males. High neuroticism scores are indicative of emotional lability and over reactivity. Zaleski and Golskowska (1978) found that unhappily married couples were significantly higher on neuroticism than happily married couples. Eysenck (1980) found neuroticism scores were higher in divorced females.

The present study was undertaken to study marital adjustment of rural and urban couples in relation to their personality. Burgess and Cottrell (1938) found rural couples to have better marital adjustment. This finding was further confirmed by Johnson and Jean (1980), Wintholtz and Otomar (1981), Mohan and Singh (1985). Burgess and Cottrell (1936), Terman (1938), and Locky (1957) found females scored higher on marital adjustment measures than males. Sidhu and Irwin (1974) found husbands showing marital disruption to be more critical, aggressive, stubborn and competitive. Joyroe (1979) found significant differences on marital adjustment between husbands and wives. Wives scored higher on marital adjustment than husbands. A review of the earlier work permits us to deduce that in the present research rural couples may show better marital adjustment, females may have better adjustment in marriage than males; extraversion and neuroticism may be negatively related to marital adjustment.

Method

The present investigation was planned to study the marital adjustment of rural and urban couples in relation to their personality in terms of E/I and N. A 2×2 factorial design was adopted. There were two groups based on their residential background i.e. rural and urban and two groups of males and females i.e. the respective husband and wife couples.

Sample

The sample for the present study consisted of 200 subjects (100 married couples). They were matched for education, socio-economic status and duration of marriage. All subjects taken were in the age range of 25 to 35 years below under-graduation, having non-working wife, belonging to middle socio-economic status and duration of marriage ranging between 3 to 8 years. The final form of the sample was following :

(a) Rural Husbands	50
(b) Rural Wives	50
(c) Urban Husbands	50
(d) Urban Wives	50

Tests Used

The Hindi adaptation by Mohan and Singh (1980) for

- (a) Burgess Marital adjustment scale (1956) was used.
- (b) Eysenck Personality Inventory (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1964) adapted in Hindi by Mohan (1977) was used to measure personality.

Results

Means and SDs were computed along with t-ratios for rural and urban couples on different variables of personality and marital adjustment. Separate means and SDs were also computed for rural husbands, rural wives, urban husbands and urban wives. These values are shown in Table 1.

Means and SDs along with t-ratios for rural, urban husbands, and rural, urban wives and total sample were also computed. These values are presented in Table 1. However, no significant difference was found between the means on different variables for rural and urban husbands but in case of rural, urban wives all the t-ratios were found to be significant.

A 2 x 2 analysis of variance was performed to see the existing difference between rural, urban areas as well as between husbands and wives. Summary of ANOVA for all the variables is given in Table II.

Correlational analysis was computed to investigate the relationship among different variables of personality and marital adjustment. These correlations are presented in Table III.

TABLE 1 : MEANS, SDs AND t-RATIOS FOR RURAL, URBAN, HUSBANDS AND WIVES ON DIFFERENT VARIABLES

Variables	N		E		L		MA I		MA II		MA Total	
	M	SDs	M	SDs	M	SDs	M	SDs	M	SDs	M	SDs
Rural Couples	9.36	3.63	10.93	2.89	4.33	1.88	189.09	22.25	321.14	10.22	510.42	25.38
Urban Couples	10.81	4.49	11.67	2.71	4.02	1.56	181.32	20.94	318.44	12.04	499.45	25.95
t-Ratio (RC & UC)	2.50*		1.85*		1.24		2.54*		2.18*		3.00*	
Rural Husband (RH)	8.96	4.02	4.50	3.21	4.18	1.96	185.46	17.18	320.66	11.35	506.52	21.09
Rural Wives (RW)	9.76	3.14	10.36	2.40	4.48	1.78	192.72	25.92	321.62	8.92	514.32	38.52
t-Ratio (RH & RW)	1.11		2.00*		0.81		1.65		0.47		1.56	
Urban Husband (UH)	9.46	4.65	11.76	2.70	4.28	1.56	182.64	21.30	314.60	9.44	501.84	24.62
Urban Wives (UW)	12.16	3.88	11.58	2.71	3.76	1.52	180.00	24.49	317.60	14.08	497.06	27.00
t-Ratio (UH & UW)	3.14*		0.34		1.78*		0.63		0.97		0.92	
t-Ratio (RH & UH)	0.57		0.44		0.28		0.73		0.51		1.02	
t-Ratio (RW & UW)	3.43**		2.39**		2.25**		2.72		1.85*		3.11*	
t-Ratio (H & W)	3.02**		1.39		0.70		1.20		0.72		0.41	

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 2 : ANOVA PERFORMED ON THE SCORES OF N, E AND LIE AND TOTAL MA

Variable	df	N		E		L		MA I		MA II		MA Total	
		Msq	F	Msq	F	Msq	F	Msq	F	Msq	F	Msq	F
Residence	1	100.82	6.44**	35.88	4.55*	3.13	1.07	5800.00	6.18*	220.00	1.41	6017.00	9.28*
Sex	1	147.92	9.46**	15.68	1.98	1.45	.49	1410.10	1.50	81.00	.52	114.00	1.8
Residence and Sex	1	42.32	2.70	7.22	1.98	11.05	3.78	3159.70	3.37	55.00	.35	1977.00	3.05
Error	196	15.64		7.93		2.92		938.58		156.43		648.32	
TSS	199												

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level.

Table III: Inter-correlation matrix for Total sample

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
N		-.16*	-.08	-.06	-.18**	-.11
E			-.02	+.07	+.35**	+.28**
L				+.18**	+.21**	+.22**
M.A. I					+.48**	+.71**
M.A. II						+.91**
M.A. Total						

** Significant at .01 level.

* Significant at .05 level.

Discussion

The results of the present study reveal that rural couples were found to be better adjusted maritally than urban couples. The *t*-ratio (Table I) and *F*-ratio (Table II) were found to be significant at .01 level; thus the present results support the early findings of Burgess and Cottrell (1938) who found that residence in rural areas during childhood was a favourable factor in marital adjustment. This finding was further confirmed by Johnson and Jean (1980) and Wintholtz and Otomer (1981) found that individuals with rural orientations were more likely to have stable marriages than their urban counterparts. On the basis of recent study Sharma (1984) stated customs and norms of rural areas still favour early marriage for a girl, her attitudes, thinking and life style can be moulded easily in accordance with the demands of the new situation. Due to education and modernisation in urban societies, the concept of individualism is considered of prime importance. In the urban set up women are much more aware of their rights. This awakening of any partner would create conflicts, imbalance and maladjustments in the marital life. Thus in the case of rural urban wives (Table 1), rural wives showed better marital adjustment than the urban wives. The *t*-ratios were also found to be significant at .01 level. No significant difference was found between rural and urban husbands. Sex was found to be insignificant determiner of marital adjustment. Thus the results do not support the findings of Burgess and Cottrell (1936), Terman (1938), Locky (1957), Joyrae (1979) who found wives scored higher on marital adjustment than husbands.

Extraversion was found to be significant determiner of marital adjustment in rural & urban areas. Urban couples scored higher on extraversion than rural couples. The *t*-ratios and *F*-ratios both were found to be significant at .05 level. On this particular dimension of personality husbands scored higher than wives. But the *t*-ratio was not found to be significant at any level. In rural-urban break up of the subjects (Table 1)

showing husbands and wives at .05 level. These results are in accordance with findings of Eysenck and Eysenck (1969) and Mohan and Singh (1985).

Rural and urban couples differed significantly on neuroticism with higher means for urban couples. The *t*-ratios (Table 1) and *F*-ratio were found to be significant at .05 level. The results are opposite to the findings of Verma (1976) and Singh (1980) who found significant differences between rural and urban people on neuroticism with rural people obtaining higher scores. On this dimension sex emerged to be significant determiners. Comparison of means (Table 1) shows that wives scored higher on neuroticism than husbands. The *t*-ratio and *F*-ratio were found to be significant at .01 level. However, in the case of rural couples the differences between the means were not significant. Thus the findings support the results of Terman and Tyler (1954) and Eysenck and Eysenck (1978) who found that females scored higher on neuroticism than males.

On lie-scale, no significant difference was found except in the case of rural urban wives. Rural wives scored higher than urban wives. The *t*-ratio was found to be significant at .01 level. Sex was found to be significant determiner of lie-scale only in case of urban husbands and wives. The results are in line with the findings of Kapoor (1968) and Gupta (1971) who found that males scored higher on the lie-scale than females.

As expected neuroticism was found to be negatively correlated with marital adjustment. Zaleski and Gulkovska (1978) Kundu and Ghosh (1978) and Eysenck (1980) also found a negative correlation between neuroticism and marital adjustment. The negative correlation between neuroticism and marital adjustment is due to the fact that neuroticism is highly unfavourable factor in adjustment. Neuroticism in this study also found to have negative correlation with extraversion.

Extraversion was found to have significant ($p < .01$) positive correlation with marital adjustment. The results do not support the findings of Eysenck (1980) and Mohan and Singh (1980) who found extraversion related to marital adjustment negatively but only among men.

Lie-scale emerged to be positively correlated with marital adjustment at .01 level of significance.

The findings of present investigation if evaluated and utilised may help providing useful information to marital counsellors who are suggesting some strategies to improve adjustment of spouses.

Summary

The study investigated the relationship of marital adjustment of urban and rural couples in relation to their personality. A 2 x 2 factorial design with subjects of urban and rural habitat and two sexes husband and wife, was adopted. The sample comprised of 200 subjects in total with 50 couples from rural background and 50 couples from urban background. All the subjects were administered the Burgess Marital Adjustment Scale–Hindi adaptation by Mohan & Singh (1980). Eysenck Personality Inventory (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1964), Hindi adaptation by Mohan (1977).

The major finding of the study was that rural wives were found to be significantly more adjusted than urban wives. No significant difference emerged between the marital adjustment scores of rural and urban husbands. Sex was not found to be significant determiner of marital adjustment. In both rural and urban couples, neuroticism was found to be negatively related with marital adjustment. Where as extraversion was emerged as having a significant positive correlation with marital adjustment. Lie–scale was also found to be positively related with marital adjustment.

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TOWARDS NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

(A Christian Perspective)

WILLIAM MADTHA

At the very outset, Christianity as a movement has to be adequately distinguished from Christianity as a religion. The latter is highly organized and hierarchically controlled with/without a pope sticking to the classical chair of Peter at Vatican City-State in Rome claiming to be the visible and vicarious head of the *Cosmic Purusha* (Ṛgveda X. 90 *Shvetashvatara Upanishad* 3.14–17) or the Mystical Body.

Christianity Vs. Churchainity

Authentic Christianity is a '*religion-less*' life-style historically lived in a definite socio-political context more than 1,980 years ago by a young man called *Jeshuā* (in English, Jesus) hailing from not a metropolitan city but a small village, without importance or renown, called Nazareth (Jn 1.46), in a neglected region, Galilee (Jn 7.52). This Jesus was a member of a non-priestly clan of Israelites (Küng, 177) and by profession he was said to be only a village carpenter. Jesus' life-style which was concrete and radical, like that of Mahatma Gandhi in modern times, attracted several *Śiṣyas* (disciples) as they saw face of God in him. From among them, as the tradition says, he selected twelve to be apostles by function representing the twelve tribes of Israel. All these were authentic witnesses to their Master who on his part lived like a slave *of* all (Mt 20.28; Mk 10.45; Lk 22.27; Jn 13.1–17), though not a slave *to* any one.

The above Jēśuan movement was intentionally labelled as subversive by the Jewish temple establishment which cunningly got it ratified through the channel of the Roman political establishment and thus provided a historical example of religious leaders exploiting masses with the help of political leaders. Thus religion being hand in glove with politics is not just a modern or an Indian phenomenon.

Jesus' Movement (Christianity)

Jesus, as a meaning-seeking adult, reflected upon his socio-political experiences critically and found out that the temple state was the root-cause of the alienation of the uncritical masses and the consequent disintegration and disharmony among the Israelites. Jesus' movement topsy-

turveyed their socio-religious values. These new values functioned both as prophylactics and curatives.

The temple worship (*Qorban*) was replaced (Mt 15.6+MK 7.9-13, Jn 4.21-24, 14.23; Rm 1.9+; 1Co 3.16-17+, 6.19; 2 Co 6.16; Ep 2.20-22; 1 P 2.5 *etiam* CONGAR. 197-8) by table fellowship (Mt 9.10-13, Mk 2.15-17; Lk 5.29-32; Heb 13.10) whose culmination was the last supper where Jesus shared the bread and wine symbolically or sacramentally (JEREMIAS, 289-90). Since he had identified himself with the people, the hitherto verticalized and mystified religion was once and for all horizontalized and humanized (ROBINSON, 61) as no separation was felt between what was authentically human and divine (D'SILVA, 5). Thus instead of the temple, the neighbour, i.e., the needy became the *locus Dei* (*dēva-sthāna*). Love of man was equalled to the love of God (Mt 12.7, 22.34-40, Mt 25.31-46, Mk 12.28-34; Jn 13.34, 15.12 Rm 13.8; Ga 5.14; 1 Jn 3.23-24, 4.7-12, 20-21; 2 Jn 5-6; GUTIERREZ 1977:250). So Jesus instructed his men to continue these friendship meals in memory of him and to celebrate their communion with one another and thus experience their unity with their common Centre (Jn 14.20, 17.21-23).

The exploding groups which were flourishing like parasites by making their living on the psycho-somatic sap of the silent, dumb, uncritical masses through their capricious (Mt 23.23-33), divisive (Mt 23.13) and alienating practices (Mt 23.34-37) could no more tolerate the impact of this popular leader and his ever growing movement. He was in fact a threat to their own survival as he announced the primacy of one's neighbours' love over everything else including the temple cult (Mt 9.10-13, Mk 12.28-38). Hence the religious hierarchy, under the protection of the temple power, using the Roman political authority, executed cold-bloodedly the murder of Jesus (Ac 3.15+4.10) as a victim of colonial policies in a manner most humiliating to any Jew of high or low birth.

This historically crucified Jesus did not cease to work as animating power even after his death among the masses among whom he had incarnated himself fully through self-giving love (Jn 10.11-15). He continued to be their spirit (*Pneuma*), the unseen cosmic force: *Īśwara* (*Christos*). Jesus was supremely alive to them and, surprisingly, was even rediscovered by them *post-mortem* (Mt 28.10+e; Lk 24.36-43+; Jn 20.19-29+). Thus Jesus of history became the ever present Christ (Mt 28.20) of Faith in their struggles (Rm 8.35-39) for human brotherhood (Kingdom). This intense shared experience (Easter Experience) was expressed through the motif/myth of 'Resurrection' by the primitive Christian folk (Ac 2.23+3.13-15+4.10+5.30-31, 10.39+13.30-31+ff). Thus came Christianity.

Degeneration of Christianity: (Churchianity)

Later the myth (PANIKKAR, 198) of Resurrection became history (KAPPEN, 27). Mistaking *anubhāva* (the faith experience) for history reduced the radical prophetic Jesuan movement to a *status-quo*-maintaining religion and thus it became untrue to its own essence (MIRANDA, 1977:39-42; SOBRINO, 1978:275). It accommodated itself as a state religion and served as a means to the political ends of the Roman empire particularly during the rule of Constantine during which the slogan "*Cujus Regio, illius religio*" (whose reign, his religion) was both a theory as well as uncritical and scandalous praxis (cf BELO; AMALLOORPA-VADOSS, nos. 40-50).

In this degraded form of Christianity temples, cult, priests, external law, pyramidal and monolithic authority "from above" and all the old evils either re-appeared or were smuggled in to it. They were considered to be the *raison d'etre* of this new catholic world religion (BOYER, 58-59; KAPPEN, 19). Thus came churchianity.

The Challenge to Christianity in India

Before Christianity degenerated, it entered India, the land of sages, *rushis* and *munis* and struck its roots in Malabar (Kerala), thanks to St. Thomas, one of the Twelve. Shortly, Christianity in India will celebrate two millenia of its stay in this land of several religions.

Such a long history, growth, of Christianity in India has produced a definite impact on the Indian socio-religious outlook. Many social evils such as monopoly of knowledge and education, the system of child marriage as well as *sati*, the unfortunate social position of women, lack of social commitment, exaggerated importance of external ritualistic purifications, abominable lack of civic sense, devaluation of manual labour, complicated food restrictions and consequent lack of sharing food together and inability of giving one's off-spring in marriage etc., are being fought under the impact of the Christian institutions and their educational activities.

Nonetheless, the clique mentality ('we group' feeling), clanishness (*Kuladharmā*), castism (*Jatidharma*) (Kappen, 1977: 37) and narrow linguism of educated schizoprenics (HOUTRAT, 43) are rampant and they are thriving like social cancer affecting the human and therefore the national integration as well as communal harmony. Given this situation, Indians cannot seek even employment except by caste, areal and linguistic considerations. Christianity which has succeeded in uprooting these anti-values in the west to a satisfactory degree has failed miserably in India.

Christian Experience about Disintegrating Factors

The Christian socio-religious experience of the existing human disintegration and communal disharmony in the Indian context or elsewhere has enabled us to a certain extent to point out some of the main factors of the crisis (John XXIII, 1961 & 1963).

Generally, the dominant power structures and the elites look down upon the others as instruments or mere cogs in the gigantic wheel to be manipulated. The haves of the various religious persuasions, political parties, castes, economic classes, power establishments have used and abused the have-nots, the weaker sections and the subordinates for preserving and promoting their own narrow existence and ends. The former condemn the latter into a dehumanized, stunted, crippled existence and impose upon them a demonic culture of silence. Power has gone to their heads. As Lord Acton says, "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." When the oppressive power becomes intolerable, revolts do occur, specially under the impact of thinking prophetic leaders. Conscientization (Madtha 1977 : 309-315) of the oppressed masses is the key factor here. When masses rise like a wounded lion, human tragedies of various magnitudes, at local and national levels, can certainly occur. In the wake of such tragedies, crafty religious leaders, unprincipled politicians, and warped anti-social elements aggravate the disharmony and make hay while the sun shines.

In the Indian situation such negative occurrences are not only a possibility but also a reality as witnessed by the sectarian rivalries and riots in the Punjab, Karnataka (Hubli) and Gujarat. It is needless to say that they amply prove the philosophical dictum of Schopenhauer, *Homini lupus*: 'Man is wolf to man'.

Indian Christianity

In order to contextualize the Jesuan *Weltanschauung* in the Indian milieu, Christianity has to register its further presence in India. Only then it can be a means of fighting off the present sin of disintegration and disharmony. In the on-going process, it has to free itself from the western trappings and express itself in the Indian idiom and life-style, particularly of the Dalits (Rm 12.15-16; 2Co 11.23-29; GUTIERREZ, 1974 : 64-66). This Indian contextualization of Asian Christianity, which involves the taking up of the cross of reality, can become a powerful sacrament of unity and combat all divisive tendencies that lead to human disintegration at various local and national levels. If the idea that the whole humanity is the people of God is lived out, notional integration will find its place in the scale of human values.

Christian Prescription for the Current Malaise

When I say 'Christian Prescription' I am sure, any audience, visual/rural, will raise its eye-brows, since Christianity of our experience is a religion and religion has been always an ambivalent phenomenon. On the one hand, religions have legitimized, unjust structures by maintaining *status-quo* and imposing the culture of silence on the marginalized and alienated, the voiceless, on all national and international scale. On the other hand, thanks to a few prophetic persons, they have brought about revolutionary changes and proved to be liberating forces both in their *doxa* and *praxis*. Christianity is by no means an exception to this general rule (Cf. GOMEZ DE SOUZA, 16; PEREZESCALARIN, 160-161). At this juncture I would like to emphasize that only the latter form of Christianity, which is essentially liberating/salvific, is authentic and referred to henceforward.

The Christian prescription for the malaise in question is homeopathic as it fortifies the individuals against all antivalues. Adopting the stance of Jesus, the liberator is the tiny homeopathic sweet pill. The sweetening element is the very essence of Jesus himself.

Jesus' life-style provides a relevant and integrated vision of life. The Christian pedagogy of the oppressed has described this holistic vision as having four underlying and interrelated parametres. They are: Truth, Justice, Love and Freedom.

Truth

Truth here does not mean an abstract sterile thought but an action-oriented attitude of mind which accepts the other man, both the exploited and the exploiter (Jm2. 1-6), as a person. Person is a free subject having duties, both individual (*Svadharma*) and social (*Samaajadharma*). This principle serves as a foundation of integration and communal harmony both at micro and macro levels. It also cuts at the root of the disintegrating factors since it cuts across all racial, caste as well as geographical boundaries, prevents language, culture and religion from dividing humanity into cliques and avoids discrimination on the grounds of sex and other parametres (Ga 3.26-28). It attacks the foundation of all parochialism, inequality, injustice as well as lack of love and freedom by pointing to their basic interrelatedness owing to their common underlying Depth-dimension/Centre which Jesus experienced as *Abba*: 'Father' (Mt 11.27) in whom 'we live and move and exist' (Ac 17.28+).

In the present neocolonialistic society, both in India and outside, 'the other' is treated merely as a productive unit to be 'used' as long as the

unit is useful. The principle of truth as explained above leads us to respect all men and women as equal in their common human dignity, as ends in themselves, irrespective of their religious, ethnic, linguistic, areal and other differences. In this situation the exploitative power is transformed into relational/reciprocal power, which leads to humanization and integration of all contrasts and opposites. Thus truth serves as the principle and foundation of all human integration both at national and world levels.

Pedagogy for Truth

Organizing occasional inter-faith bhajans, I am sure, will enable us to eradicate all religious, caste, sex, linguistic and other prevalent discriminations at the grass-roots levels and build trust in the fundamental goodness of all. Like the prayer, "Our Father", that Jesus taught, Mahatma Gandhi's prayer meeting too is a good model for us and it can evoke in us the dimension of our common humanity, emerging from the underlying divinity (*Sthala*), whether it is conceived as Father or Mother.

Justice

Doing the truth, i.e., living the truth in one's daily existence is justice. Such ortho-praxis affects all our behaviour. It narrows down the gap between the haves and the have-nots. It takes man into a community of persons where each one assumes responsibility for others, thanks to the recognition of the interrelatedness. It removes the causes of conflict, resolves differences, determines obligations, defines duties, and satisfies the rights (*Acta Apostolls Sedis* 52, 1950 : 29).

Pedagogy for Justice

Besides the creative use of conscientization of the masses as proposed by Paulo Freire (1972, 1973, 1974; Cf MADTHA 1977), the intensive use of verbal art and other folk-lore media may be quite useful and effective as pedagogical aids. Similarly, conducting reading-cum-discussion sessions on local *Dalita Sahitya* (the writings of the underdog: Cf GOKHALE-TURNER, 1980 : 20-42) may give certain momentum and direction to the cause of bringing justice, particularly, in the context of the alienated and tormented masses of India (CHAKLADAR, 174).

Love

Love, the supreme human value (Mt 19.19, 22.34-40+Mt 12.28-31+, Lk 10.25-28; Jn 13.34, 15.12.; Ac 4.32; Rm 13.8-10; Ga 5.14; Co 13.14 +Jm 2.8) *humanizes* what has been merely hominized by enabling man/woman to transcend mere biospheric individual (one who preserves life

just for one's skin-encapsulated ego Lk 17.33) and thus reach the noospheric personal realm (losing the life for others: Lk 17.33; Jn 15.13+) through pro-existent living which means a complete disponibility for others. A man loves is essentially a "Man-For-Others."

The ongoing process of humanization not only gardually brings about androgynic mutuality but also leads humans towards loving and service-oriented (Jn 3.17-18 Jm 2.15-16) inter-human concern (Jn 15.13), as of man (*hā' a'dām*) is essentially communitarian (WOLFF, 74) and seeker cosmotheandric harmony (Is 11.1-9+65.17-25+Rv 21.1-4+).

In the atmosphere of authentic love, which is beyond all personal advantage (Lk 6.32-36), consumerism and competition will yield place to sharing (Lk 17.15-16; Ac 2.45 Rm 12.13) and co-operation (1 Co 10.16) by changing radically the exploitative structures in society (Is 58.6-7). Again such a climate will lead to a community where citizens coming from different socio-religious contexts can feel at home with one another and work harmoniously for *Sarvodaya*: the betterment of all.

The important tool for integration in an atmosphere of love is the shared decision-making and democratic life-style which do not confuse unity with uniformity, obedience with conformism but rather encourage creatively divergence and plurality, setting aside all foolish fears, petty suspicions and silly anxieties. Love is a contagious force which moves individuals and communities alike.

Pedagogy for Love

In order to develop authentic praxis-oriented love, action-based reflection on concrete contextualized experiences should be encouraged by organizing periodical dialogues or sincere exchanges particularly in youth circles. The dialogic method should replace the monologic one even in our educational system, particularly at the higher levels (FREIRE 1974, 1983; MADTHA 1977). Exaggerated importance attached to discipline, law and order should be replaced by an atmosphere of freedom to save our youth from regression to infantile immaturity and to develop in them creative adaptation to new situations fostering originality and innovation which are proper to adulthood. Through such concrete pedagogy, love transforms itself into a driving force (*ēlan*) of national and global integration of human beings here and now.

Freedom

Freedom is a climate of autonomy (2 Co 3+Ga 5.18) which enables one to make one's own decisions responsibly (Ga 5.13+) as adults. It

liberates one's conscience from psychic and other determinisms as choices are not forced from outside but well forth from the spirit within (*Antaryāmin* Rm 8-14-17) : and where the spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom (2 Co 3.17). In such a situation there will be no interference in the other man's internal affairs. Such a climate of freedom enriches one's personality by giving one a feeling of one's own worth in a community of men and women who have come of age.

Freedom here does not mean licentiousness or total let-down but responsible living according to the dictates of one's informed conscience made sensitive through discernment. Such liberty of spirit builds a community of adults seeking horizontal integration and harmony through radical disponibility at the local and national levels.

Pedagogy for Freedom

In order to promote authentic internal freedom, the present youth should be given ample opportunities for choice in their formative years. The freedom of choice can atrophy when authoritarian and dictatorial teachers command them ('Do as I say because I have authority to say') or when mechanical discipline is maintained at the expense of creativity. I feel that I am not going at a tangent if I remind our such authocratic teachers that they are doing harm to national integration if they deprive the students of the necessary climate of freedom by their over-anxious concern for rule, order and conformity.

Instead of our imposing on the educates the curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities, the educatees must be made to share the decisions in these areas. If socio-economically contextualized syllabi are framed, if the students are given ample choice in the selection of the syllabi, and if the syllabi are discussed dialogically by the students with their teachers and among themselves throughout the academic year, we would have responsible and adult students going out of our university portals. Lack of such freedom based system of education, particularly at the post-graduate level, is responsible for producing a stream of unemployed or even unemployable and therefore in the long run destructive youth force (*Yuva śakti*). Hence the cry today for informal education through conscientization rather than for the formal education with all its evils.

Conclusion

The Christian proclamation (*Kerygma*) and perspective of national integration (*Basileia*) and communal harmony is founded on truth. This

is another name for integration by accepting others as persons, i.e., as members and sharers of humanity. This truth is realized though justice which tantamounts to a firm commitment to truth (Mt 25.31-46; Lk 6.35; Jm 2.14-17, 1Jn 3.17-18). It is motivated by love which means an active concern for others and not mere tolerance of them. Realization of the fundamental truth as discussed above requires an atmosphere of freedom which enable one to do what one *ought* to do as a person *etsi Deus non-daretur* (as if God is not given), as Bonhoeffer has put it.

Before concluding this artical I would like to say, with an apology to Kappen, that whatever has been said so far is not a mere abstraction but a critical reflection particularly on the Indian situation today. If you prefer to call it a mere theory, it ideally illustrates that wise paradox of C. K. Chesterton : "Nothing is more practical than a good theory."

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Is	Isaiah
Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
Ac	Acts
Rm	Romans
1Co	1 Corinthians
2Co	....	2 Corinthians
Ga	....	Galatians
Ep	....	Ephesians
Col	....	Colossians
Heb	....	Hebrews
Jm	....	James
1 P	....	1 Peter
1 Jn	....	1 John
2 Jn	....	2 John
Rv	....	Revelation

THE FUTURE OF PRICES IN INDIA

ANIL. B. KALKUNDRIKAR

Price is an important indicator to measure the economic prospects of a country. The continuously rising trend in the wholesale prices during the last two and a half years has been a matter of great concern to all of us as the same has resulted in disturbing effect on the economy. Such a price rise has proved to be disastrous in certain areas. Taking this fact into account, an attempt is made in this paper to analyse the trends in the wholesale price index and build projections of price rise upto 2,000 A.D. so as to set the tasks ahead.

Methodology :

The time series of wholesale price index have been considered for the last thirtyfour years since 1951 and a general linear regression model has been built to project future trends. Time series relate to 1970 as the base period. The stochastic disturbances have been introduced in the model.

Importance of Price movements :

Price movement are significant in studying the growth of an economy. They indicate general economic conditions prevailing in the country at a particular point of time. These movements act as a guide to the monetary and fiscal authorities to decide the nature of control and regulatory measures to be taken. In an agrarian economy like ours, price movements are important in the implementation of plan programmes.

Inflation – A Global Phenomenon :

Since the World War II, countries all over the world have been experiencing some degree of inflation. Some countries have moved from moderate inflationary state to more explosive variety. The problem of inflation is more severe in developing countries of the world. The annual average rate of inflation has been estimated at 8.1 percent in India during 1970–81 decade. Compared to many low income and lower middle income countries, the rate of inflation in India is low. However, the rate of inflation in many advanced countries is much lower than that of India. The rates of inflation in some select countries are given in Table – 1.

**Table 1 : ANNUAL AVERAGE RATES OF GROWTH OF INFLATION
(1970-81)**

Country	Annual Average Rate of Growth
Low Income Countries :	
1. Bangla Desh	15.7
2. Burma	10.7
3. India	08.1
4. Nepal	09.3
5. Pakistan	13.1
6. Sri Lanka	13.1
Middle Income Countries :	
7. Indonesia	20.5
8. Nigeria	14.2
9. Philipines	13.1
Industrial Market Economies :	
10. Canada	09.3
11. France	09.9
12. U.S.A.	07.2
13. U.K.	14.4
14. Japan	07.4
15. Germany	05.0

(Source : World Development Report, 1983 pp-148-149)

Though a global phenomenon, each country's inflation experience is quite different. Inflation in a country depends on economic as well as non-economic events. It is a serious form of illness from which countries of the world have been suffering for long.

The Wholesale Price Trends in India :

The wholesale price indices are very often used to interpret the price movements in India as the retail price indices pose a number of problems. It is believed that the wholesale price indices are comparatively more accurate and reliable than the retail price indices due to lack of availability of adequate reliable and proper data. Retail price indices are subjected to more complications than does the wholesale price indices. Though the wholesale price indices depict a picture that gives broader view of inflation, it is the only appropriate means available to us to analyse

economic prospects in our country. The life style and consumption pattern being diverse in its content, the retail price indices hardly serve any purpose at the macro level. Retail price indices are a better guide at the micro level.

The wholesale prices have shown continuously accelerating trend since 1951. The trend is more pronounced in case of manufactured articles followed by primary articles. The rise in prices is much concentrated in certain areas like some important consumer articles (Sugar, pulses, jowar, vegetables and fruits), basic raw materials (chemicals, metals etc.) and important manufactured goods.

Assuming linear functional relationship where the chi-square test fit is not good and in the general simple regression model the null hypothesis is rejected [$B = 0$ (Null Hypothesis)] at 5% level of significance, it is found that the annual average rate of growth in the wholesale prices is 8.02057 over the last thirtyfour years since 1951. The rise in the wholesale prices was much higher during 1980-81 i.e., 18.2 percent and was higher by more than one percent than the average at 9.3 percent in 1981-82.

Considering

$$Y = a + bx$$

projections at the existing rate hike of 8.02057 points have been made for the subsequent years upto 2000 A.D. which are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2 : PROJECTIONS OF WHOLESALE PRICE INDICES :

Year	Trend Value
1985	261.07157
1986	269.09214
1987	277.11271
1988	285.13328
1989	293.15385
1990	301.17442
1991	309.19499
1992	317.21556
1993	325.23613
1994	333.25670
1995	341.27727
1996	349.29784
1997	357.31841
1998	365.33898
1999	373.35955
2000	381.38012

From Table 2, it is clear that there would be around 128 points increase in the wholesale prices by 2000 A.D. Even if it is assumed that prices will not rise at an annual average rate of eight points and owing to the more realistic policies that would be adopted in future, the rate is reduced to 4 points a year, the index for 2000 A.D. would be still around 322. Rapidly growing population, mounting deficits and arithmetically increasing plan expenditures are likely to raise the rate of inflation in India than to bring it down.

Eroding Value of Money :

As the price indices show an escalating trend, the value of money goes on eroding. Since 1961, the value of Indian rupee has declined at the rate of -3.36922 percent per annum. In August 1985,* the value of money at the all India level was 17.54 paise at 1960 as the base year. Among the metropolis, it was the highest in Calcutta at 20.83 paise and the lowest in Madras at 16.53 paise. The value of money was the lowest in Shillong at 15.11 paise closely followed by Trivendrum 15.72 paise. In Delhi and Bombay, the value of money was 17.76 paise and 17.57 paise respectively. The value of rupee was 17.48 paise in Bangalore.** If the same trend continues, which is seldom true, unabated the value of money would become negative at -0.33699 in 1987. No sane Government or monetary authority will allow this to happen.

Causes for Spurt in Prices :

The spurt in prices in India is attributed to two types of factors viz., the economic factors and the non-economic factors. Price of a product in a modern market depends on such economic factors as demand from customers, cost and profitability consideration, market structure, degree of product homogeneity, degree and type of competition, economic characteristics of the product, objectives of a company, agencies in the distribution channel and their behaviour, uncertainties and marketing mix reactions and above all Government's policy and controls. Some of these factors are controllable and some uncontrollable. In a developing country like ours, non-economic factors are heavily responsible for the occurrence and sustenance of inflation. In India, non-economic factors like natural calamities, social disturbances, wars, existence of anti-social elements, frustration, class conflicts, style of living and extraneous forces operating on the style of living, inadequate appreciation and lack of understanding due to ignorance, illiteracy, dishonesty, indiscipline in

* Source : The Times of India, Bangalore Edition, Friday, October 25, 1985; pp-4. Commerce news.

** Figures relate to Urban non-manual workers 1960=100.

public life, erosion of value standards and systems, loss of character, terrorism and agitations, inter-state disputes, corruption and nepotism and absence of value-based political environment are all responsible for persistently accelerating trend in the prices. The monetary and fiscal authorities have been making serious efforts in combating inflation. But unfortunately there is little control over non-economic forces that are aggravating the situation. The realistic approach adopted by our Finance Minister and the stringent measures taken by the Reserve Bank of India are clear indications of sincere efforts to contain inflation. Unless non-economic forces are brought under control, there is little hope of any improvement in the situation.

A diagnostic study of the problem reveals that the six year old Assam agitation and the Punjab problem have been mainly responsible for worsening the inflationary situation in the country. Assam is rich on oil and forest resources. Our transport industry suffered a lot due to long drawn Assam agitation. With increase in oil and petrol prices due to short supply, the general price-level went up. Speed which is the essence of modern economic life was checked owing to Assam agitation. Punjab, one of the richest state with highest per capita income, had to face adversities due to terrorism and other anti-social activities. The economy of Punjab suffered heavily and had its impact on the prices of foodgrains in the country.

Recent Developments :

It is heartening to note that both the Punjab and Assam problems have been resolved recently. The economic consequences of Assam and Punjab accord would be favourable and go a long way in solving some major issues like inflation. The Assam accord is important in that it provides for new oil refinery in the private sector re-opening of jute factory and establishment of a paper mill and the Indian Institute of Technology. It would ease the problems of transport sector. The decision of the Government to raise the oil royalty from Rs. 61/- to Rs. 194/- per tonne would provide additional funds for the economic development of Assam.

Punjab, after the elections, is returning to normalcy. Implementation of the provisions of Punjab accord would help reviving the state economy and strengthening of the national economy.

Another important development is the re-organisation of Ministries at the centre to increase administrative efficiency and overall productivity in the country. The creation of Human Resources Development Ministry bringing together education, art, culture and allied activities, ministry of

Transport clubbing together all modes of transport, Ministry for Implementation of Programmes and re-naming the Ministry of Irrigation as Water Resources – Management are clear indications of application of modern management and administrative techniques in a drive to increase overall efficiency and performance of the economy. Rise in productivity would strengthen the supply side.

If these developments are to be taken as indications of future policies and programmes, it would be possible for us to establish control over non-economic forces. This is likely to help us in reducing the rate of inflation. However, the challenges ahead are not easy to tackle. We should not forget that we are on the threshold of the twentyfirst century. The environment and challenges ahead are quite different. The uncertainties and risks would assume differing proportions. The global situation is fast changing which has its impact on domestic issues. The nuclear arm race and star wars, balance of power dynamics, racial conflicts, highly advanced science and technology, shift priorities (may be wrong priorities), changes in the styles of living, ecological variations, fluctuating value system, change in the attitudes of people and countries and domestic problems of differing nature would all determine the future course and degree of inflation in the world. All these developments would claim a major portion of the resources for unproductive purposes. The global situation in the coming years would compell the developing countries to divert a large chunk of their resources for defence and military purposes and on internal security arrangements leaving no option of spending more for developmental purposes. This would worsen the problems of poverty and squalor, particularly in the developing countries. Our plans should, therefore, aim at socio-cultural changes adaptable to the needs of twenty-first century so as to avoid the climax of inflation.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

1. The Time series of the wholesale Price Index since 1951 have been taken from the 'Statistical Outline of India 1984' published by the Tata Services Limited, Bombay.
2. A general linear regression model is built on the basis of this data which has 1970 as the base.
3. Y - Intercept : $A = -15659.8$
Slope of the equation $B = 8.02057$
4. $H_0 : B = 0$ (Null Hypothesis).
5. Calculated value of T is 13.5908
6. Table value of T for 32 D. F. is 1.7
7. Null Hypothesis is rejected at 5% level of significance.
8. The chi-square test fit is not good.
9. The stochastic disturbances included.
10. Error Term and Error square incorporated.
11. Results obtained from the computer.

EVOLUTION OF KARNATAKA POLITICAL SUB-SYSTEM

N. A. PATIL

In view of the extensive nature of accessible material, I have not made effort to include all the available details in this study. However the availability of the details has helped me in understanding the nature of the institutions working in Karnataka. The chief aim of this paper is to analyse the under-currents of the evolution of the Karnataka Political Sub-system from about 18th century or so up to the formation of the new state of Mysore on 1st November 1956 as a result of the integration of the nine Kannada districts of the former states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and the ten districts of the old Mysore state.

The reason for limiting the scope of discussion is, the political sub-system in Karnataka began to take shape only from this period onwards. However political sub-systems existed in ancient and medieval Karnataka in one form or the other since Karnataka enjoyed the privilege of occupying a unique position by preserving its own identity in the whole of India. A political sub-system includes not only the governmental institutions but also informal groups, religious and economic bodies working inside the system. Foremost among the interests of the sub-system are the territorial integrity, political independence and fundamental institutions. It aims at maintaining its cultural identity. The plural social and composite culture developed by Karnataka was remarkably strong and colourful.

Those features were quite evident in ancient and medieval Karnataka, which reached the height of its greatness and prosperity in administrative institutions, empire-building, religion, art, language, literature and social customs etc. These are a testimony to the existence of a vigorous nationality. In fact Karnataka was abreast of other-sub-nationalities existing in India until the downfall of Vijayanagara empire. Kadambas, Gangas, Chalukyas and Yadavas raised the banner of Karnataka in all these matters even in the distant parts of India. Karnataka occupied a unique position among the sub-systems of India. A pronounced feature of Karnataka's contribution is that it has tended to preserve and strengthen the purity and glory of the Indian culture.

In course of time Indians began to become indifferent to the necessity and desirability of a strong and stable central state. The energy of the

nation was wasted as the inter-state struggle for hegemony became the order of the day. The country as a whole became weak and fell an early prey to the Greeks, Shythians, Muslims and the British invaders. But the people were not much interested in such struggles since they knew that their local cultures, laws and institutions would not be much affected whatever might be the outcome of these struggles. India prospered only when it succeeded in evolving a strong central government. India was then able to make progress.

The position however changed under the British rule. The British won India by a stroke of diplomacy and the strength of the sword. The British were able to rule India through a policy of Divide and Rule. They began to acquire new territories. The acquisition of the territories depended on the circumstances of each case. There was no scope for the development of democratic values. The British unnaturally divided India and equally Karnataka with an ulterior objective of perpetuating their rule in India. The division of Karnataka under the British was much more unnatural than most other units. Moreover the formation of the presidencies was more a matter of exigencies than of any scientific principle. Its territory, once extending from Godavari to Kaveri, came to be divided into 19 political divisions. Its different parts were tagged on to different provinces with different languages. No other part of Karnataka except Mysore developed, and the entire Karnataka lost its vitality and potentiality. The Kannadigas became conscious of the act of injustice perpetrated by the British. The Kannada language which served as the basis for the culture of Karnataka, lost its importance under the impact of foreign language.

Since Karnataka suffered dismemberment more than any other parts of India; the need for the formation of Karnataka was felt by the educated men in all parts of Karnataka. The people of north Karnataka first became aware of the tragic conditions (1860) with regard to their territory being cut into pieces among different cultural, social and political patterns. North Karnataka was given a mis-leading name, "the Southern Maharatta country". Marathi had come to occupy the place of Kannada as if it was the language of the region. The people of the four districts – Dharwar, Belgaum, Bijapur and Karwar whose language was Kannada were merged in Bombay presidency wherein Marathi was the language of a large part of the region. The districts of South Kanara and Bellary were included in Madras presidency which was mainly inhabited by the Tamil speaking people. The Nizam's dominion was to include the Kannada areas of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur. Kodagu was made an independent entity. Mysore came under the princely rule of the Wodeyar dynasty. Thanks

to the efforts of Kannada advocates like Mr. Russel and Mr. Channabasappa, who were the pioneers, the process of the regeneration of Kannada and Karnataka was started. The contributions of both the personalities would be long remembered in the history of the linguistic nationalism of Karnataka. The contribution of the western pioneer scholars like Mackenzie, Worth, Fleet Wilke, Kittel, Zeister, Stokes, Rice etc. was also remarkable. This helped the growth of Kannada consciousness.

The idea of unification of the entire region of Kannada originated in North Karnataka. This found expression in the establishment of the Vidyavardhak Sangh in 1890 by Kadapa Raghavendra Rao, Alur Venkat Rao, Gadigeyya Honnapurmath and others. The starting of Karnataka Sabha was the beginning of a political movement for this purpose. It undertook both cultural and political agitations. All-India Congress Committee accepted the demand and the unification movement of Karnataka assumed greater proportion after 1920. The Montagu Commission was in general agreement with the demand for formation of provinces on linguistic basis. Karnataka Political Conference was held at Dharwar in 1920 under the presidentship of V. P. Madhya Rao, ex-Diwan of Mysore. The object of a conference was to unify all the Kannada speaking territories under one administration. This unification conference awakened political consciousness in all parts of Karnataka. All people expressed their unanimous desire for unification. There is less substance in the argument to contend that the linguistic provinces could not be formed if they were not viable and self-sufficient in various respects, was not convincing. For self-sufficiency could not be regarded as the criterion for the creation of linguistic units since the matter is one of principle.

Various associations such as the Karnataka Sangha of Kolhapur and Sholapur, the Chamber of Commerce of Bagalkot, the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee of Hyderabad exerted themselves in one way or the other to intensify the movement for the unification of Karnataka. The founding of the Kannada Sahitya Parishad in 1915 opened a new vista of co-ordinated efforts. The people of Mysore intensively and vigorously worked from the very beginning to create a united Karnataka under the aegis of His Highness, the Maharaja of Mysore. "Karnataka Ratna Simhasanadhiswararu" has been, from the beginning, a coveted title of Mysore kings. Associations like Rastreeya Mahasabha, Arya Samaj, Hindu Praja Mandal, Veerasaiva Parishad, Andhra Parishad, Maharashtra Parishad, Praja Shikshana Parishad started functioning in different parts of Karnataka during and after the third decade of this century until Independence.

Great many efforts and conferences intending to achieve Karnataka unification were held at different places of Karnataka— (1) Sir Siddappa Kambli justified the problems of Karnataka unification in the Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1923. He also presided over the conference held at Belgaum in 1924. (2) Sri P. R. Chikkodi presided over the Bellary conference in 1926. (3) Karnataka Congress Committee intensified the agitation for Karnataka unification since 1925. (4) Dr. F. G. Halkatti presided over the conference at Dharwad in 1927. (5) The people of all parts of Karnataka celebrated the diamond jubilee celebration of Krishna Rajendra Wodeyar IV at Mysore in 1927 with gorgeous splendour. (6) All Parties Conference held at Delhi in 1928 adopted the resolution justifying the validity of the demand for unification of Karnataka. (7) Dr. U. Ramrao moved the resolution on the formation of Karnataka unification in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1926. (8) Vishwanath Rao Jog introduced the resolution on Karnataka unification in the Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1929 under the presidentship of M. Ranganath Mudliar, at Hukkeri—1931 (Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, president) at Karwar 1931 (J. V. Saldhana, president), at Dharwad 1933 (D. V. Belvi, president), at Belgaum 1936 (Dr. U. Rama Rao, president) at Sholapur 1940 (Dr. R. Naganagouda, president), at Dharwad, 1944 (K. B. Jinaraj Hegade, president), at Bombay 1946 (Balagangadhar Kher, president), at Davangere 1946 (M. P. Patil, president), at Bangalore 1951 (T. Subramaniam, president).

In the Second Round Table Conference held at London in 1931, Sri Benagal Rama Rao, Shiva Rao and Sir Mirza Ismail raised the problem of Karnataka unification. At this very time, the matter was being discussed at the Madras and Kodagu Legislative Councils. The movement for Karnataka unification gained momentum in 1932. Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress upheld the feasibility of the movement for unification. In 1938, Bombay and Madras Legislative Assemblies passed the resolution on unification. About this time Kannadigas put forth their strong plea before national leaders such as Gandhi, Sardar Patel, Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Tondon, Pandit Malviya etc. for the formation of Karnataka province on linguistic basis.

The Bangalore unification Association headed by B. Shivamurthy Swamy submitted a memorandum to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Tondon, G. V. Pant at Bangalore in 1941. In the erstwhile princely state of Mysore and the border areas of Karnataka, persons like B. M. Srikanthaiyah, Benagal Rama Rao, Jinaraj Hegade, Masti Venkatesh Aiyangar, B. Shivamurthy Shastri, Barister M. S. Sardar, R. Naganagouda, H. Siddaiah, Devadu Narasinha Shastri etc. created the consciousness of

Karnataka unification. The yearning for the cause of unification was intensively carried out by leaders like S. Nijalingappa, B. N. Datar, D. P. Karmarkar, S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao, R. R. Diwakar, S. R. Kanthi, B. D. Jatti, G. V. Hallikeri, F. G. Halkatti, Hardekar Manjappa, S. S. Basavanal, Panje Mangesh Rao, Pandit Muliye Timmappaiah, M. Govind Pai, Ramakrishna Karant, M. S. Krishna etc.

The genuineness of the demand for the formation of linguistic provinces bore its first fruit with the creation of the separate province of Orissa in 1935. Sindh was separated from Bombay in 1936. The formation of the two separate provinces served as a source of inspiration and awakened political consciousness in favour of unifying all the Kannada-speaking territories under one administration among the Kannadigas. They regained pride and confidence and carried on relentless struggle to achieve the unification of Karnataka.

The role played by the Unification Association which was founded by Benagal Rama Rao, B. Shivamurthy Shastri at Bangalore in 1938, is an event of great political significance. A number of conferences were held by this association in the old Mysore area such as Madaksira, Hosur, Kollegal, Nilgiri Talwadi, Nelamangala etc. and opened the eyes of the Kannadigas in border areas with regard to their territories being cut into different linguistic, social, cultural and political patterns. The annual sessions of Karnataka Unification Conference and Karnataka Sahitya Sammelana which functioned as adjuncts for sometime, gave an added strength to the unification movement. It was progressively continued from 1915-16 until the appointment of Reorganisation Commission by the Central Government in 1955.

With the attainment of Independence of the country, J. Nehru accepted in the Loka Sabha in 1947 the principle of and the impending necessity for the formation of provinces on linguistic basis. The Government of India appointed the Dhar Commission in 1947. The report of the Dhar Commission was met with cold reception in the country, particularly in South India which was more insistent on linguistic provinces. Even the Congress Party viewed the report as punishing the protagonists of the linguistic provinces.

The Congress Party, therefore, announced its own Committee to consider the question of linguistic provinces and to examine the problem in the light of the decision taken by the Congress in the past and to study the requirements of the present conditions. This Committee, known as the "Linguistic Provinces Committee," consisted of three members namely

Valabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah and Jawaharlal Nehru. It had no Chairman or Convener. The Jaipur session of the Congress held in December 1948, announced the appointment of the Committee. This Committee came to the conclusion that "the present is not an opportune time for the formation of new provinces". But it did not completely shut its door upon the demand. It preferred to postpone the demand for the formation of new provinces for few years since other matters of vital importance had to be dealt with. The constituent Assembly also did not make up its mind on linguistic provinces on the basis of the verdict given by the Dhar Commission and the VPJ reports.

The election manifesto of the Congress Party in the 1951 election was cautious in its promise. It stated that the formation of linguistic provinces had its own cultural importance. The other factors – administrative, economic and financial had also to be taken into consideration. It further said – the necessary steps prescribed by the constitution, including the appointment of a boundary Commission, would be taken.

Potti Sriramalu, a Congressman from Andhra, pressed for the immediate creation of the Telugu-speaking state. He undertook a 'fast unto death' on October 19, 1952. On December 15, he died. Many incidents of violence took place all over the state. The administration of the state was completely paralysed. The Central Government reluctantly bowed to the local pressures. It announced the establishment of the Andhra state to be carved out of Madras. On October 1, 1953, the first linguistic state after Independence was established. It bore the name of Andhra state. The parliament passed the Andhra State Act on September 12, 1953.

This event led to the intensification of the demand for the formation of linguistic states in India. In December, 1953, the Central Government announced the setting up of the three-man States Reorganisation Commission to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the reorganisation of the states in India on linguistic basis. The Commission submitted its 252 page report in September, 1955. It recommended that the constituent units of the Indian Union should have 16 states and three centrally administered areas. They were – Andhra, Assam, Bombay, Bihar, Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, UP, Rajasthan, Vidarbha and West Bengal. The C group states were to be abolished and the distinction between A and B states would be removed. Delhi, Manipur, Andaman and Nicobar Islands were to be administered centrally. All states except the state of Jammu and Kashmir were to have Governors as the Chief Executives.

As a result of the decision on the report of the States Reorganisation Commission which is better known as Fazal Ali Commission, five new southern states of Mysore, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra came into existence on 1st November 1956. The members of the Commission undertook a whirlwind tour of different parts of Karnataka and heard a number of evidence. The Commission has discussed, in detail, in its report from page 103 to 124 the justness of the formation of the Karnataka state. The Commission has also recommended the state to be named as Karnataka. But it was to be named as Mysore.

Credit for building a broader Mysore goes to poets, literateurs, leaders of the unification movement, various associations public and private agencies etc., who left no stones unturned for progress of the state. From the point of view of geographical, historical, cultural and administrative convenience, a number of border areas were not merged with Karnataka. They were marged with other states: Kasargod with Kerala, Nilgiri, Hosur, Talwadi with Tamil Nadu; Madaksira, Alur, Adwani, Rayadurg with Andhra; Degalur, Sholapur, Akkalkot, Jatta, Gadhinlej with Maharashtra. Though Karnataka had agreed to the Award of the Mahajan Commission, which was set up mainly on the insistence of Maharashtra and whose decisions were binding on both the states, the Maharastrians were not willing to accept the Award. The stand of Karnataka is too well know. The report of the Commision was placed on the table of the House. Karnataka is awaiting its acceptance by the Central Government.

The new state of Mysore was created on 1st November, 1956 by the integration of nine districts of the former states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Coorg and the 10 districts of the old Mysore state. The formation of the state has given rise to number of administrative problems such as seniority of the officials, equation of posts, problem of making postings and transfers, the problem of publishing the final inter-state seniority list, district reorganisation, administrative decentralisation, reorganisation of educational administration, reorganisation of the public service commission, police, prisons, information department, etc. The State Government welcomed the employees who came from the various areas to serve in the new state.

In short, while the struggle for the establishment of the Karnataka political sub-system (the state was re-named Karnataka in 1973) came to an end on 1st November, 1956, the problems of political stability, and overall development of the new political sub-system are still very much with us. The principle of linguistic states has played havoc in India. It

seems that there is no end to this demand. What is more, people are now thinking in terms of their states and interests. This contains the germ of discord, disunity and fissiparous tendencies. It appears as if India is heading towards Balkanization. If effective measures are not taken to arrest this trend, it would break up the country. Such a consequence was not expected when the sub-systems (including that of Karnataka) were sought to be created on linguistic lines. Now a time has come when we have to take firm steps to counter the trend of disintegration.

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CROPPING INTENSITY, IRRIGATION AND FARM SIZE IN KARNATAKA

S. R. NARAPPANAVAR

A phenomenal growth of crop output especially during the last one decade or so has been an outstanding achievement of Indian Agriculture. The observed increases in the crop output the direct outcome of growth of inputs including the use of HYV seeds. Of the important inputs, land is a costly and scarce input in Agriculture. In view of this the possibilities of increasing cultivable land in the country are quite remote. The only possibility is to add to the cropped area through increase in the efficiency of land use as measured in terms of cropping intensity. Given the inherent qualities of land, the pattern of its use on farms can be an important factor in determining the overall level of returns in agriculture.¹ The number of times a given unit of land is cultivated during a year is one of the important dimensions in evaluating land use patterns prevailing on different farm sizes and at different locations.

Studies in the Economics of Farm Management conducted in different states of the country at different periods show that there is an inverse relationship between the intensity of land use as measured in terms of cropping intensity and the farm size in Indian agriculture. Krishna Bharadwaj² in her study observed that the intensity of land use varies inversely with the size of land holdings, although the variation is not systematic. S. K. Tewari³ has observed that small size farms contribute positively in attaining the higher level of cropping intensity in the plains of Uttar Pradesh. Sanyal⁴ also has demonstrated the existence of inverse relationship of holding size and land productivity through various alternative models.

1. Waheeduddin Khan and R. N. Tripathy : Intensive Agriculture and Modern Inputs, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1972, p. 47.
2. Krishna Bharadwaj : Production conditions in Indian Agriculture, Cambridge University Press, London, 1976.
3. Tewari, S. K. : Cropping Intensity, Irrigation and Farm size in the plains of Uttar Pradesh, Agricultural Situation in India, Delhi, Vol. 37, No. 9, Dec. 1982, pp. 581-584.
4. Sanyal, S. K. : Agricultural Productivity, unemployment and Land holdings structure, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol XIX No. 52 & 53, Dec. 1984, A-179-A-188.

On the other hand Moonidoreswamy Naidu and others⁵ have observed that inverse relation between the cropping intensity and farm size has not only disappeared but it has turned out to be positive. The possible reasons according to them, are the greater interest showed by the large farmers in using land more intensively in the wake of higher profitability offered by the new technology and the timely application of modern inputs. Mishra and Vivekananda⁶ also observed that as far as land with irrigation is concerned, the large farms do not use it less intensively than small farms. In view of this, it is necessary to identify the variables which explain the variation in the level of cropping intensity. The variables such as irrigation, farm sizes seem to have important bearings with the level of cropping intensity. In this paper an attempt has been made to present the empirical relationship between cropping intensity, irrigation, farm sizes for Karnataka State.

Methodology :

The study is based on secondary data for Karnataka State for the year 1983-84. District-wise data on cropping intensity, percentage of grossed cropped area irrigated and percentage area under small, medium and large size farms are derived from Statistical Abstracts of Karnataka, published by Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka. The data are taken for all the 19 districts of the State. In calculating the cropping intensity, due weightage has been given to the area under annual crops like sugarcane, irrigated cotton and other non-food crops and suitably adjusted to reflect the fact that such area is being used throughout the year. This avoids underestimating the intensity of land use. Small farm is considered as that having an area of less than or equal to two hectares, medium farm having an area above two hectares but less than or equal to four hectares and large farm having an area above four hectares.

Zero order correlation coefficient matrix is computed to examine the nature of correlation between cropping intensity (Y), percentage gross cropped area irrigated (X_1), area under different size of farms (X_2 , X_3 , X_4).

These coefficients are tested for significance using the 't' test.

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5. Moonidoreswamy K. Naidu, D. Bathaiah and Phelix Edward : A note on farm size, Cropping Intensity and Labour Use in Indian Agriculture : A Study of Cuddapah District, Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 36, No. 2, April, June 1981, pp. 54-58.
 6. Mishra, G. P. and M. Vivekananda, : Impact of Canal Irrigation in Impact of Irrigation by M. V. Nadakarni, V. M. Rao and others, Himalaya Publishing House, Bombay, 1979, Part III, p. 26.

To examine the empirical relationship between cropping intensity, irrigation and farm sizes the following functional relation is hypothesized :

$$Y = f(X_1, X_2, X_3) \quad \dots \quad (1)$$

where, Y = cropping intensity as the dependent variable

R_1 = percentage gross cropped area irrigated

X_2, X_3 = percentage area under small and medium farms respectively as the independent variables.

Area under large farms (X_4) is not included in the functional relation as cropping intensity and large farm is inversely correlated as shown in the Table 3. The above relation (1) will involve a additive disturbance term (u). To establish the empirical relationship between the variables, a multiple regression analysis is carried out. Both linear and log-linear forms of regression equations were tried. To select empirically appropriate functional form out of the two, coefficient of determination (R^2) were compared and the equation with high R^2 was finally selected as the empirically appropriate functional form.

Results and Discussion :

Cropping intensity for the districts of Karnataka State for the years 1959-60, 1969-70, 1977-78 and 1983-84 are presented in Table 1. Cropping intensity has been improved in many districts of the state in the year 1983-84 as compared to the levels of cropping intensities in the years 1959-60 and 1969-70. In the year 1959-60, the cropping intensity was less than 105 percent in as many as 9 out of 19 districts of the state. Whereas the cropping intensity was less than 105 percent only in 3 districts in 1977-78 as well as in 1983-84. The highest level of cropping intensity (147) is observed to be in Dakshin Kannada in all these years wherein the gross area irrigated is not only high (33.58%) but also the area under small farm is more (46.5%).

But it is surprising to note that the cropping intensity in this district has been reduced to 137.6 percent in 1983-84 from 147.1 percent in the year 1967-70. In 12 out of 19 districts, the cropping intensity is more than 110 percent and it was lowest in Kolar, Tumkur and Kodagu districts in the year 1983-84. Although in Shimoga district, 47.89 percent gross area is irrigated, the low cropping intensity (119.5 percent) is mainly because in this district as 45.5 percent area is covered under the large farms. The average cropping intensity in Karnataka was observed to be 105 percent in 1959-69, 108 percent in 1969-70, 111.7 percent in 1977-78 and 112.5 percent in 1983-84. The average cropping intensity in the plains of Uttar Pradesh was 132.5 percent in 1971 and in the case of All India, it was 118 percent in 1970-71. This clearly shows that as far as the efficiency

of land use is considered in the Karnataka State, the improvement is not only negligible but also very much below the All India level.

Table 1
**District-wise Cropping Intensity in Karnataka for the
1960, 70, 78 and 84**

District	Cropping Intensity in the year			
	1959-60	1969-70	1977-78	1983-84
Bangalore	106.1	105.4	111.7	112.6
Belgaum	104.6	106.4	109.0	113.6
Bellary	104.7	106.8	108.8	121.4
Bidar	107.9	123.5	124.3	123.9
Bijapur	102.9	102.0	104.6	107.6
Chikmagalur	108.6	109.3	109.3	108.2
Chitradurga	106.5	115.8	117.6	117.3
Coorg (Kodagu)	101.1	108.4	104.5	102.2
Dakshina Kannada	145.4	147.1	147.1	137.6
Dharwad	104.8	102.5	104.4	109.3
Gulbarga	100.4	103.6	106.9	108.0
Hassan	109.4	110.8	111.9	110.7
Kolar	105.4	113.5	115.4	104.1
Mandya	112.4	116.7	131.5	126.4
Mysore	111.5	118.8	124.5	115.2
Raichur	100.7	104.4	112.2	112.1
Shimoga	104.5	115.8	117.6	119.5
Tumkur	103.7	104.8	107.9	104.3
Uttara Kannada	111.2	112.2	114.3	116.1
State Average	105.1	108.1	111.7	112.5

Table 2 shows percentage of gross cropped area irrigated, percentage area under small, medium and large farms, for the year 1983-84. The gross cropped area irrigated varied from 2.61 percent in Gulbarga district to 47.89 percent in Shimoga district with an average of 17 percent for Karnataka as a whole. In 8 of 19 districts, percentage of gross cropped area irrigated was less than state average. The irrigation facilities have not been exploited properly in the Dharwad, Bidar, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Hassan, Coorg Districts. It is clear that the utilization of irrigation in the state is poor in relation to several other states like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Haryana and Punjab and is far below the all India level of 27 per cent (1980-81). It is rightly pointed out in the

Draft Seventh Five Year Plan of Karnataka that the increasing gap between the creation of irrigaton potential and its utilization is widening and

Table 2

**Gross Area Irrigated, Area by Size of Farms* in Districts of
Karnataka, 1983-84**

Districts	%Gross area irrigated X_1	%Area under small farms X_2	%Area under medium farms X_3	%Area under large farms X_4
Bangalore	24.16	34.77	26.55	38.68
Belgaum	22.19	15.67	20.97	63.36
Bellary	27.62	13.69	21.45	64.86
Bidar	7.45	8.63	16.57	74.80
Bijapur	12.21	6.15	14.68	79.17
Chikmagalur	11.09	22.62	22.26	55.12
Chitradurga	22.07	13.95	20.05	66.00
Coorg (Kodagu)	3.17	12.72	16.48	70.80
Dakshina Kannada	33.58	46.51	26.82	26.67
Dharwad	8.79	11.34	19.68	68.98
Gulbarga	2.61	5.60	13.06	81.34
Hassan	14.53	29.87	27.04	43.21
Kolar	24.54	37.07	25.53	37.40
Mandya	43.36	46.11	29.35	24.54
Mysore	17.45	37.13	29.18	33.69
Raichur	17.53	8.05	16.80	75.15
Shimoga	47.89	27.84	27.13	45.51
Tumkur	14.68	28.64	23.85	47.51
Uttara Kannada	18.13	37.09	28.36	34.56
State Average	16.96	17.23	20.14	62.63

* Area by size of farms refers to the year 1977-71.

Command Area Development Authorities are unable to realise targets set for the development of the ayacut. Thus, in comparison to the Sixth Plan target of developing 3.71 lakh hectares in practice only 0.57 lakh hectares have been developed.⁷ At the national level also, this gap increased from four million hectares in 1979-80 to five million hectares in

7. Government of Karnataka; Draft Seventh Five Year Plan, 1985-90, Planning Department, p. 273.

1984-85. Delays in the construction of field channels, land levelling and excessive withdrawal of water by upstream beneficiaries have in general affected overall utilization of the potential created.

Area under small size farms ranged from 5.60 percent in Gulbarga district to 46.11 percent in Mandya district, under medium size farms ranged from 13.06 percent in Gulbarga district to 29.35 percent in Mandya district and under large size farms ranged from 25.54 percent in Mandya district to 81.34 percent in Gulbarga district. The average area under small, medium and large farms for the state observed to be 17.23 per cent, 20.14 percent and 62.63 percent respectively. This shows the distribution of land holdings is highly skewed and large farms possess substantial share of the cultivable land as compared to small and medium size farms.

Table 3
Zero order Correlation Matrix

Variables	Cropping intensity (%) Y	Gross Cropped area irrigated (%) X ₁	Area under small farms (%) X ₂	Area under medium farms (%) X ₃	Area under large farms (%) X ₄
Cropping (Y) Intensity	10.0	0.61*	0.40**	0.36**	0.39**
Gross Cropped area irrigated (%) X ₁		1.00	0.60*	0.65*	0.62*
Area under small farms (%) X ₂			1.00	0.93*	0.99*
Area under Medium farms (%) X ₃				1.00	0.96*
Area under large farms (%) X ₄					1.00

* significant at 1 percent level of significance

** significant at 5 percent level of significance

Zero order correlation coefficient matrix indicating the nature and degree of correlation between different variables is given in Table 3. The correlation of cropping intensity with percentage gross cropped area irrigated, percentage area under small, medium farms was found to be positive and significant whereas with percentage area under large farms, it was found to be negative and significant. This clearly shows that the cropping intensity will be reduced with the increase in the farm size. Thus the low cropping intensity in the state is largely due to low percentage area under irrigation and high percentage area (62.63 percent) under large farms.

Table 4

Results of Multiple Regression Analysis :
Dependent variable : Cropping Intensity (Y)

Equation	Independent variables	Regression coefficient	Standard Error	't' Statistics	R ²
Linear form	Intercept	116.43	13.76	8.46**	0.51
	X ₁	0.47	0.19	2.46*	
	X ₂	0.29	0.34	0.82***	
	X ₃	-0.80	0.96	-0.83***	

* significant at 2.5 percent level

** significant at 5 percent level

*** significant at 25 percent level

The Table 4 presents the results of multiple regression analysis indicating the empirical relationship between cropping intensity and the explanatory variables that are included in the relation. Linear form of the equation was found to be the empirically appropriate form as it yielded high explanatory power (R²). The results show that gross cropped area irrigated (X₁), is found to be highly significant influencing the cropping intensity (Y). It is significant at 2.5 percent level of significance. The results show that an increase of one percent area under irrigation, will increase the cropping intensity by 2.46. The area under small farms (X₂) and area under medium farms (X₃) are found to be significant at 25 percent level of significance. The relationship between area under small farms and cropping intensity is found to be positive and an increase of one percent area under small farms would increase the cropping intensity by 0.82. On the other hand the relationship between area under medium farms and cropping intensity is found to be negative and a decrease of one percent area under medium farms would increase cropping intensity

by 0.83. The three variables together explain 51 percent of variation in the cropping intensity.

Conclusions :

- 1) The inverse relationship between farm size and cropping intensity is established and small farms contribute positively in attaining higher level of cropping intensity in Karnataka. Hence, the attention should be paid to small farms by giving more input facilities, credit and subsidy.
- 2) The area under small farms in the state accounts for only 17 percent, there is a case for increasing the area under small farms which will have favourable impact on the cropping intensity.
- 3) The percentage area under irrigation is very low in the State. But it has a significant influence on the cropping intensity. It is found that one per cent increase in the area under irrigation will increase the cropping intensity by 2.46. It is therefore necessary to create more irrigation facilities in the State. This can be achieved by
 - i) Completing all on-going major and medium projects without any delay;
 - ii) reducing the gap between potential created and actual utilization of irrigation facilities;
 - iii) making fuller use of minor source of irrigation partly through restoration and desilting and partly through taking up new projects;
 - iv) Strengthening of surface water and groundwater facilities particularly in the northern and southern districts of the state. The minor irrigation schemes involve a short gestation period and provide scope for employment on a considerable scale. Besides, groundwater irrigation allows for a far more efficient utilization of water resources.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Stephen White and Daniel Nelson, *Communist Politics – A Reader*, (London, MacMillan Education Ltd., 1986)

The book under review is an academic study of comparative communist politics in socialist countries of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. The expansion in the number of political systems claiming allegiance to Marxism– Leninism has become a global reality since the 1980's. This has meant that a large volume of information and data are now available for scrutiny by scholars in the field of comparative communist politics. But it must also be borne in mind that communist regimes are among the world's most secretive systems, since they maintain effective domestic control on the flow of information both within the country and across its borders. Such a tight control over information is a genuine handicap for planners, party officials and social scientists who by virtue of their commanding positions are expected to make a positive or significant contribution to the making of party and state policy. Even foreign scholars find it difficult to get access to government archives, inadequate facility to interview functionaries in the state bureaucracy, only occasional permission to visit rural areas for collection of data through field work and less than adequate interaction with the mass public. Therefore it must be realised that such limitations are a natural by-product of totalitarian systems.

Schematically the book under review is divided into nineteen chapters and categorised into five major heads. The first section is an academic attempt at tracing the origins of contemporary communism and the nature, substance and thrust of its global dimension. The second part is an analytical discussion of the various structures of government, the formal framework of state politics in communist countries with special emphasis on the role of elections and of legislative bodies. The third section is a meaningful attempt to analyse the operational dynamics of the ruling communist parties in their respective countries. The fourth section is an interesting discussion of a variety of institutional and informal pressures on parties, through which eventually public policy is formulated and put into practice. Finally, in the fifth section, a number of well-written studies taking a comparative perspective of politics in the communist-ruled nations are made with academic objectivity and analytical rigour. The book looks into the various aspects of politics and statecraft in communist

states of the world. Topics such as the role of pressure groups, coalition formation, ethnic nationalism, the nature of trade unions, the role of the information media, political training and recruitment, the work of legislative bodies, the regime citizen relations and the policy process have been dealt with in an adequate manner.

The present volume is a very significant contribution to the extant literature on comparative communist politics. The scholars have applied their minds seriously to various dimensions of politics in totalitarian systems. They have tried to compare communist-ruled states with each other with a view to arrive at some interesting conclusions. It is the view of the reviewer that the quality of their effort would have been better if they had compared these communist systems also with the democratic systems. Such a wider comparative focus would have been more meaningful and fruitful for policy makers and governmental leaders. There is yet another aspect that needs to be commented upon with forthrightness. This pertains to the fact that the volume includes contributions only from western scholars who take the predominantly western view point. It would have been better to have included the contributions of third world scholars also. Such a course of action would have certainly provided a more holistic approach to the problems and issues in comparative communist politics. Notwithstanding these comments the book can prove very useful to all those interested in the latest developments in communist ruled states of the world. In this sense the study is a very useful academic contribution in communist politics.

Trilok Chandra, *The Last Warning to Humanity*, (Muzaffarnagar, Bharatiya Publications, 1986).

The book under review by Trilok Chandra is an attempt to analyse and find solutions to some of the complex problems of the contemporary world. According to the author humanity is on the brink of a catastrophe of gigantic proportions. Ruthless competition and unending conflict of diverse ideologies have vitiated the atmosphere on the world scene. Dazzling scientific and technological breakthrough and advanced material, civilization have not proved as a boon to humanity because of the moral and spiritual degradation. The sinful misconduct of man towards animal life has added another dimension to the grave situation. Conflicts between nations on the grounds of border, language, religion etc have become endemic features of modern life.

Trilok Chandra exemplifies his world view by discussing the extant issues of concern in India, the communist countries like China and Russia and America and its European allies. In respect of India the author argues that the heritage or legacy of Gandhi has become totally ephemeral or distorted beyond redemption. The situation is such that the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer. The neo-rich class have developed vested interest in perpetuating its class interests. Further, he states that hypocrisy, moral lassitude, indiscipline, selfishness and exploitation have become the order of the day. Other maladies like communalism, casteism, linguistic fanaticism and regional chauvinism are part and parcel of the scene in modern independent India. On China he holds the view that its population suffers from the shackles of a regimented and authoritarian political system. The people of China have been deprived of their great ancient philosophy of life. China today has closed its doors to all sources which could be categorised as religious, spiritual, cultural and divine values of human life, while on the contrary the emphasis is on territorial expansion through a policy of jingoistic militarism.

About Russia Trilok Chandra is of the view that there are no two opinions about the fact that it is one of the technological giants of the modern world with a reasonably high standard of living for its population. Yet, on the debit side he mentions the fact that like China it has an authoritarian political system which places primary emphasis on matter and energy. He says that a nation which discards religious, spiritual, cultural, moral and human values is bound to suffer serious consequences in the long-run. Such a self-defeating ideal will only hasten the occurrence of a nuclear war. About America and Europe he is of the view that tremendous scientific and material advancement has taken place, but here also they have not been able to strike a strong balance between scientific advancement on the one hand and religious and spiritual perfection on the other. The military-industrial complex dominates every other sector of these societies, while the societies themselves are beset with a moral crises leading to social tensions, economic disparity and political conflicts.

Shri Trilok Chandra's prognosis appears to be true, though the reviewer feels that he seeks provide simplistic solutions to complex issues and problems. This is because the author seems to take a dim or pessimistic view of what is happening in different parts of the world. He fails to realise that the problems are the product of ceaseless change and transition, the characteristic features of the twentieth century. New values, new institutions and a new ethic are slowly but certainly emerging in the

contemporary period. Old actors and old value systems are under persistent attack leading to innovation and dynamic change. The burden of Trilok Chandra's thesis is that the only way out of the present impasse is for mankind to rediscover the ancient values of spirituality and morality of a high order. It is very difficult to expect the world to be saturated by values of spirituality in the context of the fact that science and technology and materialism hold sway over the lives of vast millions in different nations.

On the whole, Trilok Chandra's book is a modest attempt to come to grips with the most contentious and most momentous issues of modern age. In his own style and method he has sought to identify and analyse these problems to the best of his abilities. However, the author does not succeed in competently analysing the various problems and issues. In many parts of the book the arguments are facile and skimpy since they do not do justice to the subject under discussion. The treatment in many other parts of the book is descriptive rather than analytical.

V. T. Patil

T. S. Rajgopal Ayyangar; *Indian Democracy Speaks* (Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1979, Rs. 55/-, pp. 445.)

The book is, in a sense, a logical extension of the author's thinking on the subject, which was already there in his four special lectures delivered by him at the Mysore University, on different aspects of democracy. They include Democracy as a political arrangement, Democracy as a social and economic technique, Democracy as an international approach, and Democracy as a way of life. Now these lectures have been brought out in the book form, befittingly entitled "*Indian Democracy Speaks.*" The author's other motivation was to make this book eminently readable from a layman's point of view rather than from an expert's point of view. But the book has enhanced its academic value by bringing to the fore all the subtleties in the working of Indian democracy, stimulating the interest of all serious students of the subject.

The book has been divided into six parts and contains a brief author's preface. The first chapter is general in nature. It deals with the five topics namely (a) The concept of democracy (b) Meaning of democracy (c) Democracy in ancient India (d) Modern nation states (e) Democratic concept under the constitution. Quite a few of the burning issues relating to democracy have been discussed with foresight and erudition. For it, he defines democracy as a political arrangement which is identified with the principle of majority rule. Then it is a social and economic technique for achieving social security. He has analysed democracy in a wider spectrum as it encompasses broader issues like world peace, international understanding, universal brotherhood and the project of making man "good and virtuous." Further, he has emphasised the point that the concept of democracy was prevalent in the ancient world including Greece and India. He gives copious references to sources tracing the democracy of ancient India, and such sources include the Mahabharata, the Jataka stories, Panini, Kautilya's Arthashastra, the account of Megasthenes etc. They all refer to the form of democratic government that existed in ancient India. This chapter of the book provides a brilliant exposition of the issues involved.

Part II has 15 chapters dealing with such problems as lengthy-nature of the Indian constitution, enumeration of the fundamental rights, Directive principles of state policy, fundamental duties etc. The constitutional position of the Indian president, vice-president, prime minister and the council of ministers are discussed at length. Chapter 10 gives an interesting reading on caste politics, hero-worship lack of enlightened public opinion etc. The analysis of the provision with regard to the

incorporation of the adult franchise into the Indian constitution is lively and exciting; in that the author shows Indian democracy has proved disastrous in some ways of the ignorance of the voters at the time of the inauguration of the Indian constitution after Independence. This aspect of the discussion should have been given greater attention as today Indian democracy has run into crisis after crisis, and has been ineffective and inoperative, because of the provision of adult franchise.

The discussion of topic like the party system in India is thought provoking and gives sufficient food for thought especially regarding the necessity for forming not more than 3 or 4 political parties as against the prevalence of a dozen or more political parties today on account of our historical circumstances. The practice of communalism in Indian politics has created an alarming situation and the problem of defection has been spreading like an endemic scourge. The author should have turned the search-light on this problem still further. The discussion on the issue of donations to political parties and discipline in democracy is highly relevant today. Now disciplined political life is at stake and the author should have suggested some effective remedial measures for the elimination of such anomolous situation.

Part III contains 10 chapters relating to the basic postulates of socialism, the composition and achievements of planning commission, the working of five year plans including the concept of the Rolling plan, land reforms etc. The author has very well brought out his various schemes to achieve the goal of egalitarian society through rule of law and finally the achievement of the objective of the socialistic state after giving the merits and demerits of the five year plans including the rolling plan, which, in essence, was a brain child of the Janata government. It appears as though the the Janata government at the centre was influenced by the idea of Swedish economist and a Nobel Laurete for economics, Prof. Gunnar Myrdal. He advocated the concept of rolling plan as suitable for the developing countries. But that proved to be a still born and abortive attempt. The author has also rightly pointed out the need for specific pattern of population growth, laying emphasis on the importance of the census, stressing of the paramount need of Indian defence etc.

Part IV consists of 11 chapters dealing with democray as an international issue. Here, the author has given a good accout of the concept of non-aligment, India's relations with South-east, in the sub-continent, its immediate neighbours with Middle East, newly awakened Africa, China, Russia, U. S. A., U. N. O., and finally advocating that India should

remain a zone of peace. Some of the suggestions, specially regarding the Indian approach to world problems, inadequacy of the balance of power theory, elimination of racial discrimination, China's wooing of America, the unshakable friendship between India and Russia, merit serious consideration and they are constructive and revolutionary. In the words of the author : "it is some-times felt that the world could be saved not by politicians but only by those who guide the people through the path of Dharma." In this respect India could lead the world : because it was once teacher of humanity and guided mankind in the interest of the common culture or to transform the world philosophy in the light of Indian spirituality.

Part V contains only one chapter dilating at length on the crisis of democracy during the long 19 month emergency period, the like of which the country had not experienced since its Independence. It was a bolt from the blue and a night-marish experience to all peace-loving Indians, who strove to keep Indian democracy on proper lines by challenging the mis-use of authority, the progressive emasculation of the parliament and the judiciary. In his characteristic style, the author has briefly touched on the factor of Sanjaya Gandhi phenomenon in Indian politics, epitomising him as "New Messiah". He shot into the political firmament like a rocket and disappeared from it equally suddenly. This phenomenon has been sarcastically highlighted by the author by calling him the future ruler of India. He has also gone into Sanjaya Gandhi's involvement in the forced sterilisation of the family planning programme and his ruthless demolition of the houses, huts, buildings, destruction of the property in the name of the slum clearance etc., which, as the author put it, make sad and pathetic reading.

The final part VI also contains a very brief chapter on democracy as a way of life. In the ultimate analysis, the author has profusely quoted the western classical theorists, like Rousseau, Bentham, Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill to examine the several ways in which the ends of democracy can be conceptualised. In his concluding observations, he has expressed a sense of robust optimism regarding the culture of India which will usher in a new era by playing the new role of leading humanity towards a better life. In a world torn by violence, hatred, ill-will, malice, hunger, anger, and what have you, India might serve well as a Messiah of a better future world, since all such potentialities of guiding humanity are latent in her long historical tradition.

On the whole, the author handles the subject systematically and analytically. It would have been helpful if the author had written an

introductory section in the first part of the book, giving the historical background and the evolution of democracy in the world in some detail. In that case it would have shown the significance of Indian democracy in the evolutionary process of world democracy. Such a chapter would have given a wider perspective to the subject. Also as a result, the concluding chapter would have assumed a more natural, unique and logical relevance. Barring of this minor lacuna there is plenty of material in the book, which entitles the author to a place among the distinguished writers on the subject. This work shows a high level of excellence in form and matter. The author deserves our gratitude and commendation for having provided as with a detailed and lucid analysis of the problems facing Indian democracy. It makes a wholesome, welcome and valuable contribution to our understanding of the working of the Indian democracy. The book has been produced very well.

—N. A. Patil

Vimala Thakar (Translated from Hindi into English by Devendra Singh); *Life as Yoga* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, pp 1-286, First Edition 1977, Paperback Rs. 35/-)

The central theme of this book is modern understanding of yoga—the ancient spiritual discipline. At the outset the author sets forth her task to repudiate, certain misconceptions about yogic-spiritual life. Three things are suggested to develop right attitude towards life as yoga, they are a vision free from illusion, a mind-free from impurity and senses free from the fetters of habit (2, 6, 15). To the question; does (spiritual) experiences constitute the true state of life, the negative answer is that experience is not the true state of life, because the true state of life is existence and experience is a wave above the sea of consciousness. However such type of existential interpretation of yogic way of life seems to go against the spirit of traditional yogic teaching that yoga practice leads to unique non-sensuous experience. It seems to me that the author's contention is to postulate yogic state of existence independent of phenomena of experience as a ground to witness those spectrum experiences.

Although traditionally the necessity of Guru (Spiritual teacher) is emphasised especially in the complicated yogic practices, the author has made an attempt to interpret Guru as a state of consciousness (37). Of course a specific sort of consciousness namely that condition of awareness in which divine potentialities lying hidden in man find their expressions. And such a heightened state of awareness is permeated by Vidya or spiritual knowledge. In other words 'even knowledge has no place in it; knowledge too is a form of ignorance according to Vedanta'. (p. 37).

The concept of meditation is taken up in the second Discourse (45-54). Meditation is not defined in terms of certain subjective functions; meditation is the state of totality. Hence there is author's degression to interpret 'meditation' in contradistinction with traditional yogic concept of meditation (dhyāna) which means steady flow of a single thought. It is analogically argued that just as we see beyond the capacity of ordinary observation with telescope, to see beyond the intellect one must enter into the meditation and open the third eye (50). Consequently one will get down from the waves of pleasure and pain and enter the springs of bliss which is non-dual state of love (69).

Yoga is defined as skill in action; following Bhagawadgita the author's constant appeal to efficiency and alertness in practical affairs implies integral aspect of yoga in life (78). Spiritual endeavour involves attentiveness, i.e. watchfulness. To this effect author's suggestion is that one

should not entertain the idea that the world is an illusion of unreality, because human beings have responsibilities towards the world and the best or the highest field for spiritual endeavour is the one where an individual is working. That field of work is the proper field of dharma (166).

Life as yoga refers to morality, religion and spirituality. Moral rules provide the guidelines to individuals in the conduct of life. The Sanskrit term 'Nīti' which captures the sense of 'morality' comes from the root 'Nī' means to lead, guide or conduct (480). Yoga as spiritual method implies the known as the door to the unknown. 'The known' implies proper perception, understanding, comprehension and recognition involving self-analysis. Self-analysis as a form of criticism involves self-observation and self-examination. Self-criticism implies unbiased observation also. (186-7).

The author has made an interesting attempt to characterise the nature of reality in terms of Shiva and Sakti with reference to an aspirant moving along the path of yoga (192, 240). Since energy plays cardinal role at an aspirant and also at cosmic level, an attempt has been made to understand the nature of energy. It is said that unfrustrated intelligence, sensitivity are the true nature of the energy. Novelty, in the life of sensitivity is perpetual. And that form of life permeated by freshness and perpetual bliss is understood as *the sight of Śiva on the peak of silence*. (240). But how an individual consciousness is able to participate in universal consciousness? According to the author, the moment individual consciousness loses its individuality discarding the different layers of identification with limitations, the difference between the individual and universe is obliterated. And such obliteration of the difference is descent of the Shiva's grace. Although there is no perception of it by the individual, the author thinks that there is only vague inference but the feeling of the universal consciousness is very powerful. There is synchronisation of the uncovering of the individual and the descent of the Lord's grace (192). Under such condition the quest for truth turns in to experience. Often spiritual endeavour is contrasted with scientific outlook. However author thinks that science and the spiritual life are not to be removed from one another (259-64). Because one of the goals of the spiritual endeavour like that of science is a way of seeing things clearly, further the pursuit of truth is also common to both spirituality and science.

The author has tried her best to express certain important spiritual concepts of life 'yoga' 'meditation' 'truth' etc. so that common people may understand them. Although the characteristic style of presentation of the matter in the book appears to be similar to that of J. Krishnamurthy's

approach, the author differs in certain methodological issues. Krishnamurthy's approach is quite radical and absolutely critical about traditional spiritual values; whereas the author tries to balance her modern approach with traditional understanding of spiritual values. The author has made an attempt to rediscover traditional truths on modern lines.

The author deserves sincere thanks for her objective approach in understanding traditional spiritual concepts in terms of modern ideas.

Vimala Thakar *Why Meditation?* (Five talks delivered at the Blaisdell Institute, Claremont University, California 1974) (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1977, pp 1-82, Paperback Price Rs. 10/-)

In the first section of the book 'The nature of human consciousness' the author has formulated the problem faced by the modern world. The problem is that humanity is passing through its most critical times, the common factor for different countries – poor and rich, is the sense of restlessness, of dissatisfaction, of chaos and anarchy (pp 6-7). The author's handling of the problem implies her sincere concern for fellow humans. And consequently the author makes an optimistic attempt to suggest certain workable solutions to the alleged problem.

I think author's approach to the problem is quite akin to that of J. Krishnamurti's popular freestyle inquiry and self-analysis. Since human life seems to be a complex phenomenon; an attempt has been made to understand totality of life patterns in terms of organic constituents of human body along with rational components of human personality. There is emphasis on a kind of understanding leading to legitimate transformation of an individual with the help of refined experiences, ideals and concepts (pp 11-2), so that an individual is able to meet the challenge by exploring a new dimension of life and new dynamics of relationship (15).

However a reader is not very unlikely to feel about too little explanation regarding the structure and functions of human consciousness which is the main concept, in the title of the section. Only contextually 'consciousness' is to be paraphrased as total awareness or understanding of human relations leading spiritual development.

An interesting but controversial analysis of 'verbal structure', the subject matter of second section, begins at the end of the first section. Human communication involves verbal structure composed of words having meanings. An argument that 'since sound is a form of energy

and words have sound and hence words have energy' has an amiguous premiss : 'words have sound'. Of course spoken word as vocal expression represents sound. Further a thought need not always be clothed in a word. The author has made a suggestion to refine the verbal structure by way of understanding total structure, conceptual, psychological and that of the I – consciousness (p. 17). An aspect of self-analysis to understand verbal structures implies that there should be no twisting the fact of perception according to one's own wishing ambitions or motivations. And such self-education, leads to the state of meditation (25).

The author thinks (p. 23) that man lives simultaneously on perceptual and conceptual levels. Since man's contact with the perceptual world is through concepts, man's living is almost confined to psyche or the consciousness, in which knowledge and experience are accumulated and organised. The closed consciousness or psyche is to be examined in order that a man may be freed from psychic tensions to lead balanced life.

The author (p. 49, 78) uses the word "meditation" with different connotation other than a mental activity. The author claims that the word "meditation" implies what the word *Dhyānam* – in sanskrit stands for, thereby signifying a state of the total being where there is no movement conscious or unconscious. However it is more appropriate to understand 'author's' concept of meditation in terms of the notion of 'Samādhi' as conceived in classical Indian philosophy especially in Patañjali's yoga and Buddha's eight fold path, because state of meditation as self-actualisation signifies the nature of concentration (Samadhi) as spiritual state of fulfilment.

The author deserves thanks for her novel approach to analyse spiritual issues fully concerned with practical life.

Asrani U. A. *Yoga Unveiled* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, First Edition 1977, pp i-xxiv, 1-230, Price Rs. 40/- Cloth bound)

This work is the outcome of modern understanding of the traditional concepts in yoga. The author, having the background of modern scientific knowledge, has tried to provide empirical or experimental justification to spiritual claims of yoga. Thus the focus is on practical aspect of yoga but not about theoretical nature of yoga.

The first chapter is about a clue to the missing link between science and mysticism in which the author states certain basic challenges in the modern age. For instance there is a rapid decline of interest in human

values and science is silent about moral values. Author's conviction is that neither science alone nor mysticism/religion exclusively can solve human problems such as risks of nuclear warfare and environmental pollution, but co-operation of them is necessary. (1-2). How can they be co-operated? The author claims that he had mystical experience in the year 1943 which lasted about 48 hours and at that time he also realized the possibility of a collaboration between science and mysticism. The author's experience is culmination of about 35 years of study of vedantic literature and in that state the author was witnessing the stable mind (sthita-prajña) state as expressed in Bhagavadgita. The Author's affiliation is to Jñāna-yoga and describes his spiritual experience as absolutely natural, effortless, and spontaneous. The author is eager to express some physiological consequences of that state.

(i) He was doing every activity with full of concentration,

(ii) He noticed marked improvement in physical and mental health.

It may be objected that such consequences like (i) and (ii) may be the outcome of certain psychadic drugs. Author's reply is that drugs in the long run yield damaging effects on psycho-biological systems where as yoga practice spontaneously strengthens the systems. Author argues (Ch. II) that sthita-prajña state yields mental health. Consequently there are traits (subjective and objective) of positive mental health; self-confidence, self-reliance, self-actualization and integration of personality which are subjective traits whereas correct perception on reality and successful adaptation in life (20-2) are objective traits.

According to the author, deepest Samādhi is a 'silence' i.e. 'Nirvikalpa' which is above all linguistic concepts. Author wants to show that human language and semantics is unable to characterise nirvikalpaka state including elementary particle like an electron. However if there is no better alternative than the existing languages and semantics, there is fair justification to employ those techniques to describe and evaluate such experiences.

In order to understand yoga on rational and scientific grounds (Ch. III) an attempt has been made link yoga with modern psychology which is some what objectionable, for yoga is a spiritual discipline having set of tested modalities where as empirical psychology tends to be only highly probable. Even if the concepts of yoga are likely to be dressed up in the language of modern psychology or/and science, one is not reducible to other.

Sahaja-avasthā (Jivanmukta state) i.e. Samādhi is full of spiritual or transcendental consciousness along with outer awareness and realistic activity (Ch. IV). Such a state of mind exhibits pure alpha rhythm on

the electro encephalograph (EEG). That is to say that electric activity in the brain is rhythmical and alpha waves indicate mental and emotional relaxation. However the neurophysiological basis of these micro-voltages in the brain is not yet precisely understood. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that the Humanist psychology dealing with human personality, superb psychological health self-actualisation creativity, transpersonal states which are border concepts to understand the possibilities of yogic experience. Recent researches on psycho-biological effects of yoga practice reveal higher mental planes of tranquility combined with efficiency, balanced emotions and judgements (77-8).

It is claimed that (Ch. VI) by the technique of Jñāna-yoga (as relaxing meditation) it is possible to eliminate basal complex as in human psyche. Complexes have been unconscious motives or unhealthy emotional habits formed by conditioning. The author is somewhat skeptical about usual methods of psycho-analysis through 'Free-Association' for exposing complexes, far they are time consuming procedures. However practice of yogic meditation is natural and simple. Jñāna-yoga yields mental and emotional relaxation directly and effectively through cosmic meditation (101).

Ofcourse there are other alternative techniques of relaxation. One such method referred to by the author is so called Bio-Feed-Back Device (102, 211-2). In this device certain healthy complexes are mixed up in E.E.G. rhythms filtered electronically in order to indicate beneficial alpha-waves. Such filtered rhythms are fed after amplification into a small electronic tube which produces light. Such light informs the subject that he has succeeded in getting, relaxed mental state. The device feeds back one's own achievement. However this method cannot be a legitimate alternative yogic method, for there is likelihood of a subject being conditioned to mechanical process and outside the process an individual may exhibit same sort of abnormal behavioural traits.

The author has suggested certain techniques of Jñāna-yoga Therapy (125-30). First step involves mental and emotional relaxation. The silencing of the mind is necessary but not itself-sufficient. And in the second step the author mentions the necessity to change one's attitude towards life, in order to evolve special personality.

The author has shown his acquaintance with modern scientific researches in psycho-biological aspects of yoga and is optimistic about the role of yoga in life. The author deserves thanks for his interesting treatment of the subject of yoga.

R. I. Ingalalli

John C. Plott, *Global History of Philosophy Vol I* (Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi. 1977, pp xix+240, Rs 45/-

The book under review has been claimed both by Hajime Nakamura in his "Foreword" and the author himself in his "Preface" to be different from the other kinds of histories of philosophy and also from the other global histories of philosophy, in at least three respects : (1) while the other histories are either histories of Indian or Western or Chinese Philosophy, thus being provincial, Prof. Plott's is a global History of Philosophy, as the title itself indicates. The provincial treatments of histories of Philosophy often reflect the authors' narrow and prejudiced view that western philosophies are rational and free from theological influences whereas the eastern philosophies are mystical and theological, and not, in any case, rational or logically rigorous; and that the former are materialistic while the latter spiritualistic. The *Global History* is an honest attempt at the removal of this too simplistic misconception. (2) Some philosophers have, in the name of 'Comparative Philosophy', tried to compare the philosophers of the west with those of the east, irrespective of the times to which they belonged. Thus, for example, the concept of soul in early Buddhism is compared to that of Hume. Some ontological and epistemological views of Sankara with those of Kant, etc. But Prof. Plott has chosen to compare (in the I vol.) the philosophers of Greece, India and China or what he calls the Axial Age. Thus the approach of the *Global History* is not vertical, but horizontal or synchronological. (3) Prof. Plott's work (intended to be published in atleast 10 Vols.) differs also from similar works of well known writers like Burt, R. S. Slater, P. T. Raju, Hajime Nakamura, Radhakrishnan, etc. in two important respects : (a) they are 'their collections of articles by different contributors', and as such, 'lack an integrated perspective; and (b) even when some of them are single authored, they suffer from narrower scope. In contrast, the *Global History* is built on an integrated perspective and intends to go into all topics of all the schools/philosophers of all the ages.

The intention of the author is to show that certain philosophical problems were familiar to all civilizations of the Axial Age, namely Indian, Greek and Chinese and the problems discussed in synchronological manner are, mainly, metaphysical, logical, religious or spiritual, ethical, political and sociological. Thus cosmological questions (such as Is the universe made up of atoms ? Are these controlled externally or not ? Are there entities in the world apart from matter ? Is the universe eternal ? etc), questions relating to the nature of soul/mind, body-mind/

soul distinction, the nature of number, paradoxes, the problem of flux and cause, sources and validity of knowledge, which pestered the Indians, Chinese and Greeks have been discussed and compared.

Any civilized community must speculate the interpersonal code of conduct. Then questions like, is man inherently bad or inherently good, or does he become good/bad by natural influences, are his conduct and nature determined by fate or Karma or birth, if man is free, at least occasionally, what can be the best conduct that leads to his happiness here and hereafter, etc. are bound to crop up. Philosophers of this age, notes the author, were forced to give the same importance to these socio-ethical problems that was given to cosmological, metaphysical and logical problems. It is interesting to note that philosophers of that age, though belonging to countries, which were geographically wide apart, have tried to avoid extremes (too much of hedonism and too much of asceticism) and have unanimously advocated the principle of Golden Mean, though Golden Mean has differed in details, from country to country.

With the advancement of his rational capacity, man has learnt to isolate logic from facts of experience for the sake of study, and the Chinese, Indians and Greeks have dealt with the logical issues efficiently—considering the limited advantages they enjoyed. The philosophical rigour and insight that go into their analysis of inference in both logical and epistemological terms, and their formulation of the paradoxes (of, for example, Zeno, Chinese and the Upanisadic thinkers) may not be on par with those of the moderners, but their achievement is no mean one.

An important aspect of this book which the readers cannot miss is its attempt to connect the metaphysical, ethical, political and social issues into a cohesive unity. In the 4th and 5th chapters, for example, the author has shown, with ample illustrations from the histories of Greece, India and China, how morality derives from metaphysics, how particular type of morality can bring about socio-political unity, and how metaphysics and ethics can together authenticate religious life.

Though the author is a westerner (Janardana Ramanujadasa is a name which he assumed when he was in India), he never shows any sign of bias either in his exposition of eastern concepts or in his comparison of them with the western ones. This is a welcome feature, especially when some philosophers (western mostly, and eastern occasionally) are reluctant to recognise Indian Philosophy as philosophy at all.

The author admits that the great weakness of his single handed enterprise is lack of philosophical rigour. Perhaps there cannot be philosophical rigour in such a work, considering the vastness of its canvas. Though it is true that no man can be a master of epistemology, logic, metaphysics, theology, spirituality, ethics, etc. of all the countries and of all the ages, yet he could have directed the readers to the right books where detailed explanations and evaluations are discussed.

The other weaknesses of the book are classed under 4 heads :

(1) The reader is not clear about the author's understanding of certain concepts (a) He thinks (pp. 16-7) anattavada rejects only the substantiality of the souls, while in fact it rejects substantiality of material objects also, (b) Democritus, according to the author (p. 34), admits the existence of Nous (mind) which combines and puts the atoms into operation, while according to all historians of western philosophy, Democritus believed in nothing except two realities – atoms and empty space; nor are atoms moved by Love and Hate. (c) The author ascribes to Indian Philosophy the view that “even the emancipated soul (mukta) learns to control these (vāsanās) only with great difficulty” (p. 40) whereas all schools of Indian Philosophy which advocate liberation, maintain that a mukta has already liberated himself from the vāsanās, and so, there is no question of his learning to control them with great difficulty. (d) The Sankhya school, like, Nyaya-Vaisesika, Visistadvaita, etc., believes that no creation is first and no dissolution (involution) is last. But even in the pralaya state the souls are bound to their respective subtle-bodies and karmas, but not, in any case, liberated. In view of this, the author's statement “But Samkhya also has the perspective of seeing the whole of nature as undergoing a process of evolution and involution until the final pralaya is reached and all is in equilibrium again, Then the tension between Prakṛti and puruṣa is resolved and there is the possibility of liberation for the soul” (p. 137) looks ridiculously bold. (e) It is also difficult for the reader to gulp the two sentences of the author, that “There is definitely no unmoved Mover in Vaisesika” (p. 138) and that “Vaisesika considers time to be a real *dravya*, a substantial level in the hierarchy of Being followed by Space (*dik*), ... and *ātman*-Brahman” (p. 146).

Though some of these inadequate interpretations/informations do not hinder the progress of the discussions in which they occur, one begins to doubt the author's understanding of the concepts compared.

(2) One also wonders whether some of the comparisons drawn are proper (a) The author thinks (pp 32-3) the paradoxes of the flying arrow, and of Achilles and the tortoise formulated by zeno the Eleatic are the

same as those formulated by the Chinese philosopher Huishih, such as for example, "An egg has feathers", "Eyes do not see" ect. The latter are rather puzzler involving linguistic trickery than paradoxes which are of logical nature. For solving puzzles one has only to translate them into plain and clear language, whereas for solving paradoxes of Zeno, one requires rigorous logic. Zeno's paradoxes remained unsolved till Russell solved them. (b) Again, the comparison between the Socratic ideal of self-knowledge and the Upanisadic ideal of self-knowledge leading to liberation (p. 57) is questionable. (c) Similarly, the author's attempt to compare the atheistic Vaisesika with Aristotle does not seem justified (pp 137-38).

(3) On many occasions the author glosses over comparisons without going into the details. (a) He opines that the Nyaya-theory of negation (*abhāva*) is far superior to Hegel's theory (p. 62), but does not care to tell us how. (b) Though he deals with the Buddhist concept of *Ksanikata* at least four times (pp. 14-16, 33, 133-34, 151) and the related concept of *anattā* and notes that constant change in the soul is unacceptable to the Hindus and the Jainas, never once does he mention their arguments for its unacceptability, let alone the examination of the tenability of these arguments. (c) similarly, the comparison expressed in the sentence "The Buddhist is concerned with Becoming and the Hindu with Being" (p. 63) without proper justification looks too simplistic.

(4) Even if we admit that the author's understanding of these concepts is correct, the kind of comparison he is engaged in is inconsequential, for the comparisons are not evaluative.

One may remind us of the author's note that if one goes into the details and incorporates philosophical depth, the book becomes unmanageably large. But in such cases (to repeat), he could have advised the reader to read relevant books for details.

Since the book is one of the first attempts in the direction of synchronological global history of philosophy, lapses of certain kind ought to occur. Let us hope that the author overcomes them in the next edition.

N. G. Mahadevappa

Richard H. Robinson *Early Mādhyamika In India And China* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1976; Rs. 45/- ; pp. xi+347).

Originally a doctoral thesis, submitted to, and approved by, the University of London, the book under review is not so philosophical as historical. Its chief objective can be formulated as follows : Mādhyamika was introduced to China by Kumārajīva between 401-409 A. D. through his translation of the four most important Mahayana works. Both several decades earlier and several decades later there were numerous Buddhist scriptures in Chinese translation. But when Kumārajīva's translation in Chinese appeared "Buddhist thinkers in China saw Mahāyāna systematic Philosophy for the first time" (p. 5). This revolutionary event raises in the mind of Robinson two important questions : (1) To what degree did the Chinese understand the newly imported Mādhyamika Philosophy ? (2) In what respects was the Buddhism of Kumārajīva's disciples Indian and in what respects was it Chinese ?

These questions obviously presuppose questions like, (1) What is the best model for interpreting the relation between the Indian and Chinese Cultures ? (2) What is a rational logic as distinguished from a mystical logic ? (3) What is the best method of interpreting certain passages which involve the key technical term ? (4) Who were the Mādhyamika writers in India and in China ? (5) What are the basic pre-suppositions on which their philosophical systems were erected ? (6) In what respects are they similar such that they can both be classed as Mādhyamika ? (7) What are the differences, if any, between them ?

The early Indian Mādhyamika philosophy is enshrined chiefly in the various *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, the works of Nāgārjuna, especially, his *Mādhyamika Kārikās* and *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra*, the commentaries on these works, and the works of Āryadeva. Because of the fact the Nāgārjuna is the earliest and the chief architect of Mādhyamika system, the latter is rightly called Nāgārjunism. A clear understanding of Nāgārjunism enables us to examine the similarities and differences between Indian Mādhyamika and its Chinese counterpart.

- (1) *Madhyamaka-śāstra*.
- (2) *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra*
- (3) *Dvādaśa-mukha-śāstra*.
- (4) *Śata-Śāstra*.

While the first three are Nāgārjuna's, the last is his disciple Āryadeva's. Kumārajīva, his disciples and his numerous associates translated these and other works into Chinese. So "in China Mādhyamika was known as

‘The Four Treatise School’ or ‘The Three Treatise School’, depending in whether the (second mentioned above) was accorded primary status” (p. 28).

The author now (ch. II) proceeds to give a critical summary of Candrakīrti’s *Prasannapadā* which is one of the best commentaries on Nāgārjuna’s *Madhyamaka Kārikā*. The central thesis is that the things of the world lack own-being, are collocations of *dharmas* and therefore phenomenality is *svabhāva-śūnyatā*. The *dharmas* which constitute the things also continuously change and are, therefore, not real. Things are “like forests and like armies which all have names but do not have actuals”. (p. 50)

The highest reality, *Śūnyata*, or *nirvāṇa* is not an entity, and it is free from the four categories of existence, nonexistence, the combination and disjunction of the two. To say a thing neither exists nor inexists is to throw away the three fundamental laws of thought of the traditional western logic. Robinson here save’s Nāgārjuna from this charge. He demonstrates carefully and elaborately that Nāgārjuna’s dialectical method in fact heavily depends on the dichotomies, and so, on the law contradiction. He also shows how Nāgārjuna avoids the Kevalā dvaitin’s third possibility, *anirvacanīyatā* (inexpressibility) which is neither ‘existence’ nor ‘non-existence’. The II chapter also gives sketchy accounts of the biographies and works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.

The III chapter is devoted to Kumārajīva’s biographical sketch and works. Kumārajīva after being taken as a captive to China by a Chinese army, learnt Chinese and translated many Mahāyāna works into Chinese. While 5th and 6th Centuries Chinese tradition attributes to Kumārajīva 35 works, the later tradition attributes 100 works. Anyway the most important translations include not only the Mahāyāna works but also Hīnayāna works (pp. 74-75).

Kumārajīva’s own thoughts are found in (1) his *commentary* on the *Vimala-Kīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, and (2) his letters to Hui-Yuan after 405 A. D. in which he quotes from *Pañcaviṃśatī*, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, *Viśeṣa-Cintā-Paripṛcchā*, etc. to support his views. To him Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna doctrines are not contradictory doctrines taught by the Buddhas, but doctrines meant for men of high and men of low intellect, respectively.

Ch. IV. intends to show that Hui-Yuan, a senior contemporary of Kumārajīva and a follower of Tao-an, learnt Mahāyāna from Kumārajīva’s translations. Also, occasionally he got clarified his doubts concern-

ning Mahāyānism by regular letter correspondence with him. His philosophy, contained in his book "*Spirit Does not Die*" was according to his opponents, different from the traditional Chinese philosophy, though he vehemently argued for its sameness with it. He also argued for its identity with Indian Buddhism on the ground that he approvingly spoke of the essential Buddhist doctrines, such as, Karma, rebirth, *Samsāra*, *Samskāras*, *Skandhas*, *nirvāṇa*, etc.

What is interesting to note in Hui-yuan is that he was a Buddhist for more than 50 years and was yet maintaining ātmavāda which Buddhism of all shades so vigorously denied. (p. 104). This was due, perhaps, to Taoism which he studied throughout his life. But Neo-Taoism, like Buddhism, had no respect for ātmavāda. However, in his letter to Kumārajīva he writes that he adopted ātmavāda to attract layman, and he himself did not believe in it.

However, it was also a fact that Hui-yuan while preparing the preface to the *Mahāprajñā pāramitā śāstra* puzzled by the Mahāyāna doctrines which were in opposition to the Hīnayāna doctrines with which he was familiar. Though Kumārajīva in many of his letters clarified the distinction, Hui-yuan, in his enthusiasm to reconcile, read Hīnayāmism into the *Prajñā-pāramitā sūtras*, as well as Nāgārjuna's *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise (Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra)*.

Robinson is, therefore, right in commenting that Hui-yuan's preface is erroneous from the Nāgārjunist point of view. He points out that Hui-Yuan's doctrines (1) that existence and inexistence alternate each other, and (2) that emptiness is the matrix of the dependent co-arising from which things arise and to which they return are really un-Buddhistic. Hui-yuan's "inter-pretation makes emptiness a term in the object-system, rather than in the descriptive system" (p. 114).

Seng-Jui was another disciple of and a scribe to Kumārajīva. He understood Kumārajīva's position, i. e. Mahāyānism, better than Hui-yuan and many others. He also wrote many prefaces to the Chinese version of Buddhist works. (Ch. V).

Amongst the disciples and associates of Kumārajīva the most intelligent, the most liked and yet the youngest, was Seng-Chao. His accurate understanding of the Mahāyāna works is testified by his (a) prefaces, (b) his well known *Essays*, namely, (1) *Prajñā-paramitā Has No Knowing*, (2) *Emptiness of the Non-Absolute* and (3) *Things Do Not Shift*, and (4) his commentary on the *Vimalakīrti* known as "*Nirvāṇa is Nameless*".

Robinson thinks that though Seng Chao's works are lucid and have complex rhetorical structures (p. 130), the arguments he advances are not logically vigorous. In fact, he has tried to show that one of his arguments is clearly formally wrong. The argument in question is

If there is something that is known, then there is something that is not known. Because in the Holy Mind, there is nothing that is known, there is nothing that is not known" (p. 130).

Robinson reduces this argument to the form of "A implies B; not-A, therefore not-B" to show that its invalidity is due the denial of the antecedent; he also claims to have discovered such invalid hypothetical arguments in Nāgārjuna.

But Robinson could be wrong : If "If" in the antecedent is taken to mean "If and only if" which is exactly what seng chao means, then the argument need not be fallacies consider :

If and only if there is moon in the sky there is moonlight. There is no moon; therefore there is no moonlight. The fact that the consequent follows from only one definite antecedent lends validity to this hypothetical syllogism in which the antecedent is negated. Perhaps, a realization of this would have saved Seng-Chao from Robinson's charge that he "display no awareness logical rules" (p. 160).

The Ch. VII is important because the author's evaluative remarks. He discovers many inaccuracies in the Chinese translations and attributes them to hasty translation, lack of agreement amongst the two many translators, and lack of re-checking in addition to the un-understability of the concepts. Though these errors are not of serious nature they "prevent Chinese reader from grasping the formal precision which is one of the finest qualities of the original" (p. 157). He also notes that while there was no similarity between the Buddhism of Hui-yuan and the Buddhism of the Mahāyāna works, the similarity that obtained between Seng-Chao's and Nāgārjuna's works could be reduced to a poor imitation, especially on the logical side (p. 160). Another important feature of the Chinese Mādhyamika (notes the author) is the lack of Indian *dṛṣṭānta* which is necessary for conveying philosophical doctrines more effectively. The most serious lapse of the Chinese Mādhyamika is its incapacity to understand, let alone tackle, the problem of causation which is so vital to its Indian counterpart. The last part of the book, titled "Documents" presents in English the heart of ten works necessary for understanding the Indian and the Chinese Mādhyamika.

On the whole the book is useful for its historical perspective as also for its "Documents".

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